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READINGS IN CIVIC SOCIOLOGY

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It is one thing, in a textbook, to present references to authorities and sources; and it is quite another thing to secure the utilization of these references by students. There are many claims upon the time of teacher and student; library facilities are limited, and a local library may have available only one or two copies of a work that will be in request at the same time by twenty students. In the social studies, and particularly in sociology, there is much that should be read; but the material available for reading in any library is likely to be ill-assorted. A digest of selected readings offers a solution — not an ideal solution, but certainly a helpful and practical one; for it is well for students to become acquainted, even in slight measure, with a number of the ablest writers on social and civic problems. To meet the demand for such a digest to be used in connection with any study of civics and sociology, Dr. Ross and Mrs. Bohlman have prepared the present volume

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FOREWORD

THIS is a collection of readings intended to be used along with textbooks in the field of civics, such as Ross's *Civic Sociology* and others, the positions of which it illustrates or confirms. The selection of its materials has been guided by the idea that our society is undergoing various changes which it is our business to understand; for we ought to be able to check, guide, or accelerate them.

Of the population of the globe about one twelfth is incorporated into American society. To chart correctly the major trends in this mammoth group is no light task. Hence we have no apology to make for our large use of statistics.

A view of the whirlwind of wild assertions — partisan or demagogic — they are bound to meet with later on, our young citizens should have something solid to cling to in the way of *quantitative fact* and *measured tendency*. So far as possible, we provide them with such support.

For establishment of fact we draw heavily upon public documents, the impartiality of which none can call in question. In matters of opinion we cite when possible the utterances of recognized authorities. So we draw from St. Paul, Washington, and Roosevelt; from Elizabeth Barrett Browning, James Russell Lowell, and John Ruskin; from Lord Bryce, Sir Leslie Stephen, Justice Brandeis, and the Honorable Elihu Root; from Presidents Lowell, Butler, and Butterfield, and Professors Hobhouse, Turner, Cooley, Ely, Chafee, Ellwood, East, Pearl, and Munro. If such cannot give young Americans wise guidance, who can?

Frequently we have charted the trend of constructive effort in this and other lands in order that our budding citizens may not miss the true line of advance and later fall to struggling at cross-purposes with other good citizens.

We trust this book is free from every form of national brag

and spread-eagle-ism. We aim to inspire love of country without at the same time disparaging the achievements and claims of other peoples. It is our hope that our conception of American society as a fluid and living thing, when properly developed in the classroom, will tend to build the character of the liberal-minded and public-spirited citizen.

EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS

EDNA McCAULL BOHLMAN

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THE editors and the publishers are under a debt of gratitude to the writers, editors, and publishers of books, periodicals, and other publications who have made this volume of readings possible by permitting use of their material. While every effort has been made to accord proper credit in immediate connection with the appearance of each selection in the body of the text, a special expression of appreciation is due here for the permissions extended and for the cordial interest so generally expressed in this book by fellow workers in the field of civics.

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READINGS IN CIVIC SOCIOLOGY

CHAPTER ONE

THE TREND OF POPULATION

1. THE REVIVAL OF THE POPULATION QUESTION¹

. . . Public interest in the question of population appears to be one of the standard consequences of a great war. The years which linked the dying Eighteenth Century and the dawning Nineteenth marked the end of a period of intensive and extensive warring — Napoleonic in Europe, revolutionary in America. In this period one of the principal topics of serious discussion by all thoughtful publicists and statesmen was the population problem. An extensive literature was produced. . . . The great work was of course that of Malthus, but there were many others of real significance. One of the wisest things Benjamin Franklin's great intellect ever produced was a little essay on "Observations concerning the increase of mankind, peopling of countries, etc., written in Pennsylvania, anno 1751," which in certain respects anticipated the conclusions which Malthus, with more elaborate documentation but no less surely, was later to draw.

The reason why war appears normally to engender concern about population is a twofold one. In the first place, as Harold Cox in his *Problem of Population* has shown perhaps better than any one else, population pressure is always a major cause of war, either directly or indirectly. Curiously enough, everybody sees this after the event, but apparently never before. "A place in the sun" is looked upon as the idle chatter of a vain and too vocal monarch until after its mischief has been done. After the war is over and every one is filled with an immediate first-hand realization of what an inherently dreadful and stupid affair war is, there is a great buzzing in the hives of learning about all of the things, including population growth and pressure, which contributed to its causation. . . .

¹From Raymond Pearl, "The Biology of Population Growth," in *The American Mercury*, Vol. 3, No. 11 (November, 1924). Reprinted by special permission of the author.

2. GREEK AND ROMAN POPULATION THEORIES¹

The ancient Greeks characteristically approached the population question from the point of view of the ideal City State. They made up their minds first as to the number of citizens that would produce the most satisfactory political and social unit, and then took steps to keep the population up to the desired level and to prevent it from increasing beyond it. They took account of the quality as well as of the number of citizens, and endeavored to eliminate the unfit from their societies. In Sparta there seems to have been little fear of overpopulation, except in regard to the slaves, whose numbers they kept in check by such devices as infanticide. Frequently wars took their toll of young freemen, and created an urgent demand for more. Thus, in Sparta, the State regulations of marriage and procreation were mainly directed toward a high birth rate of healthy children. Every Spartan was expected to marry for the good of the State. Bachelors were subjected to social indignities as well as to legal and political disabilities. Marriages were supervised with a view to the production of children sound in body and mind, and the fathers of three or more sons were publicly rewarded.

In Athens, the regulation of marriage was less rigid than in Sparta. There, too, laws existed against celibacy; but in times of peace these were not enforced, and late marriages were advocated. The Athenian remedy for overpopulation was emigration, but infanticide was also a recognized custom. Malthus remarks that "when Solon permitted the exposure of children, it is probable that he only gave the sanction of law to a custom already prevalent"; adding with characteristic shrewdness: "In this permission he had without doubt two ends in view. First, that which is most obvious, the prevention of such an excessive population as would cause universal poverty and discontent; and secondly, that of keeping the population up to the level of what the territory could support, by removing the terrors of too numerous a family and consequently the principal obstacle to marriage."

¹ From Harold Wright, *Population*, pages 2-5. Copyright, 1923, by Harcourt, Brace & Co., Inc., New York. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

In addition to these two motives, the Greeks were inclined to look favorably upon infanticide as a eugenic device; for weakly or deformed children were exposed in Sparta by order of the State, a practice which Plato and Aristotle both approved.

Malthus was clearly justified in saying that infanticide was frequently adopted among primitive peoples as a means of keeping the population within the means of subsistence. In Polynesia, for instance, the islands being small though the climate is favorable to the production of food, the custom was generally observed. In the Hawaiian Islands all children after the third or fourth were strangled or burned alive. At Tahiti, fathers had the right (and used it) of suffocating their newly born children. The Areois, in the Society Islands, imposed infanticide upon the women members by oath. In fact, although a religious sanction is often given to the slaughter of infants among savage tribes, this practice or others restricting increase seem to be generally prevalent among those peoples who have reason to fear that their food supply may prove insufficient for their support, while in some countries infants are destroyed in times of scarcity only. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that some fear of overpopulation played a part in originating this custom among the ancient Greeks.

Infanticide was prevalent among the Romans also, but it is improbable that the practice was encouraged by their rulers. As a conquering race they were always obsessed with the need for soldiers and colonists. Their legislation respecting marriage and parenthood was therefore directed toward an increase in population. As in Sparta, rewards were given to the fathers of families and penalties imposed upon bachelors. Plutarch says of Camillus that "as the wars had made many widows, he obliged such of the men as lived single, partly by persuasion and partly by threatening them with fines, to marry the widows." Whether any Roman Weller stood out against this terrifying edict is not recorded! In the early days of the Empire, the population question appears to have caused considerable anxiety. Augustus resorted to elaborate legislation. He enacted that men and women must be married and have children before the men were twenty-five and the women twenty. Those who disobeyed this law by remaining unmarried

were disqualified from becoming heirs or receiving legacies. Those who married but had no children could receive only half of any property left to them, and could bequeath only one tenth of their property to their widows. On the other hand, honors and privileges were bestowed upon prolific parents.

The object of this legislation seems, however, to have been the preservation of the Patrician families rather than the increase of the number of the whole people. If this was the intention, it was defeated by the luxury and vice that prevailed among the upper classes in imperial Rome.

3. GROWTH OF POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES BEFORE THE FOURTEENTH CENSUS¹

The population of the United States in 1920 was 27 times as great as that returned at the First Census, 130 years before.

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, WITH DECENNIAL INCREASE: 1790-1920

CENSUS YEAR	POPULATION	TOTAL DECENNIAL INCREASE	PER CENT OF INCREASE
1790	3,929,214	—	—
1800	5,308,483	1,379,269	35.1
1810	7,239,881	1,931,398	36.4
1820	9,638,453	2,398,572	33.1
1830	12,866,020	3,227,567	33.5
1840	17,069,453	4,203,433	32.7
1850	23,191,876	6,122,423	35.9
1860	31,443,321	8,251,445	35.6
1870	² 39,818,449	² 8,375,128	² 26.6
1880	50,155,783	² 10,337,334	² 26.0
1890	62,947,714	12,791,931	25.5
1900	75,994,575	13,046,861	20.7
1910	91,972,266	15,977,691	21.0
1920	105,710,620	13,738,354	14.9

¹ From Census Monograph No. 1 *Increase of Population in the United States, 1910-20*, Chapter II. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.; 1922.

² Estimated correction for error in census of 1870.

The first 70 years of census taking in the United States (1790 to 1860) disclosed a fairly uniform increase in population of about one-third every 10 years. This uniformity created an impression which became quite general, especially among those unfamiliar with the factors limiting population change, that a one-third increase per decade was a "natural" or normal rate of growth for the United States, and could be confidently expected to continue. Even so thoughtful a student of national affairs as President Lincoln fell into the error of regarding this long-continued and roughly uniform increase as a safe proportion by means of which to project the growth of the country's population well into the future. This subject evidently deeply impressed Mr. Lincoln. In his first annual message he said: "There are already among us those who, if the Union be preserved, will live to see it contain 250,000,000." In his second annual message he predicted 187,000,000 inhabitants in the United States in 1920.¹

The uniformly high rate of increase during the period 1790 to 1860 was the direct result of the expansion of a new nation by an extremely virile and fertile race. At the First Census, 1790, children under the age of 16 averaged almost exactly three per white family.² This surprisingly high proportion demonstrates without need for further proof the unusual fertility of the so-called native stock, which apparently continued with little diminution until the end of this period. Prior to 1860 the United States was practically in the pioneer stage; land was plentiful, agriculture was the general occupation, life was simple. Economic conditions, ways of living, and the natural inclinations of a plain people made the family the most important institution of the time. The rearing of large families was the normal and proper objective of life. But the Civil War brought this early period to a close, and was followed by an era of readjustment and a great industrial awakening. This was stimulated by new inventions and the wider application of such

¹ Richardson, *Messages of the Presidents*, VI, pages 58, 138.

² The average number of children under 16 per family, for all classes of the population, in 1920 was a trifle less than 1.5. (The corresponding average for white families in 1920 has not been computed.) Census "families" differ somewhat from natural families, in that the former include certain economic groups, such as boarders or lodgers in hotels, boarding houses, and lodging houses, and inmates of institutions, who are not related by blood.

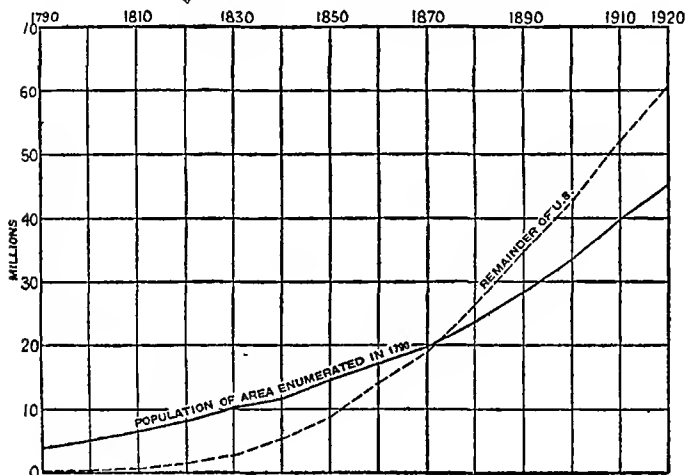
earlier ones as the steam engine, by development of technical methods, and by the rapid construction of railroad systems. Coincidentally with the development of industry and the great accumulation of wealth, came many social changes. Old ideals tended to yield to new ones. Increasing complexities of life and more alluring opportunities for personal gratification appeared and multiplied while at the same time the urgent need for large families steadily decreased. These and many other factors contributed after 1860 to bring about the continued decline in the rate of population increase.

It was not until after the Civil War that there was a large influx of immigrants whose racial antecedents differed from those of the people who constituted the great bulk of the population at the time of the First Census. The increased numbers of foreigners who sought the United States seemingly should have tended to raise the percentage of population increase; instead, the rate of increase actually declined. As the industrial life of the Nation developed and as living became more complicated, especially in rapidly growing cities, still further declines in the per cent of increase of the national population appeared from decade to decade, with one exception. The Thirteenth Census showed a slight increase over the rate shown for the previous census. This was the direct result of the great influx of immigrants from 1900 to 1910 — a number in the aggregate so large as to raise the rate of population increase shown in 1910 and thus to be capable of overcoming for the decade the general tendency toward a declining rate of growth.

The narrative of population growth in the United States prior to 1920 is hardly complete without reference to the effect of territorial expansion. Although the total area of the United States in 1790 was 867,980 square miles, the First Census, taken in that year, covered only 417,170 square miles, the remainder being so sparsely populated that it was impracticable to canvass it. In this area of a little more than 400,000 square miles — scarcely equal to the combined areas of California and Texas — which contained practically the entire population of the country in 1790, there were enumerated 45,379,381 persons in 1920, as compared with a total of 60,331,239 in the remainder of the country, consisting of 450,000

square miles belonging to the United States in 1790 but not enumerated, together with over 2,100,000 square miles added since 1790.

GROWTH OF POPULATION IN AREA ENUMERATED IN 1790, WITH GROWTH IN REMAINDER OF COUNTRY, 1790-1920



4. INCREASE OF POPULATION, 1910-1920¹

From 1910 to 1920 the number of inhabitants of the United States increased 13,738,354. Great as this increment was, that which occurred from 1900 to 1910 exceeded it, being the largest decennial increase so far attained, nearly 16,000,000. Fourteen millions, however, the increase in round numbers from 1910 to 1920, exceeded all previous increases except that shown in 1910, and suggests the immense proportions to which the population of the United States has attained. So great, indeed, is it that the net additions to the Nation over deaths and departures for the last 10-year period averaged nearly 4000 persons per day.

¹ From Census Monograph No. 1: *Increase of Population in the United States, 1910-20*, Chapter III. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C., 1922.

PERCENTAGE OF NATIONAL INCREASE

The mere increase from 1910 to 1920 was greater than the entire population of the Republic in 1830; it was equal to more than twice the total population of New England in 1910; it almost equaled the aggregate population of 21 of the 48 states in 1920. And yet, although the figure denotes a population growth of such dimensions, its significance lies not in the fact that it was so large but rather in the fact that it represented the smallest percentage of increase ever reported by a Federal census. From 1900 to 1910 the rate of increase was 21 per cent; from 1910 to 1920 but 14.9 per cent; and this low record compares sharply with the previous low rate, 20.7 per cent, shown for the decade 1890 to 1900.

The extremely low rate of population increase for the last decade was a continuation of the tendency previously pointed out as having become marked since 1870 but which had never before been so pronounced.

The decline in immigration was, of course, one of the chief causes which lowered the rate of increase. Had the average annual immigration and emigration throughout the entire decade been the same as for the five-year period ended June 30, 1915, the population enumerated in 1920 would have been nearly 108,000,000 instead of 105,710,620, and the rate of increase would have been a little more than 17 per cent instead of 14.9 per cent. Thus the decline in immigration during the period from the outbreak of the war to the taking of the Fourteenth Census was an influential factor in the lowering of the percentage of increase; but even had immigration continued at a record rate throughout the decade, the percentage of the national population increase still would have been lower than that shown by any previous census of the United States.

5. SHIFTING MAKE-UP OF THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES¹

The increase of population for the 20-year period 1900 to 1920 may be thus interestingly divided.

¹ From Census Monograph No. 1 *Increase of Population in the United States, 1910-20*, pages 99-100, 124. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C., 1922.

The Trend of Population

9

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AND RATE OF INCREASE BY RACE AND NATIVITY: 1920 AND 1900

ELEMENT	1920		1900		PER CENT OF IN- CREASE, 1900-1920
	NUMBER	PER CENT OF TOTAL	NUMBER	PER CENT OF TOTAL	
Total	105,710,620	100.0	75,994,575	100.0	39.1
Native white	81,108,161	76.7	56,595,379	74.5	43.3
Native stock (estimated) ¹	47,330,000	44.8	37,290,000	49.1	26.9
Nine Southern states . .	² 13,061,286	12.4	² 9,700,592	12.8	34.6
All other states (esti- mated)	¹ 34,270,000	32.4	¹ 27,590,000	36.3	24.2
Foreign stock (esti- mated)	¹ 33,780,000	32.0	¹ 19,300,000	25.4	75.0
Foreign-born white . . .	13,712,754	13.0	10,213,817	13.4	34.3
Negro	10,463,131	9.9	8,833,994	11.6	18.4
Indian, Chinese, Japanese, etc.	426,574	0.4	351,385	0.5	21.4

The addition of nearly 14,500,000 to the foreign white stock of native birth during the 20-year period, representing an increase of 75 per cent, is derived from two sources: First, the increase of the foreign white stock of native birth present in 1900 (equivalent to 19,300,000); and second, the survivors, in 1920, of the children born in the United States since 1900 to foreign white parents. While the first of these two sources is properly designated as natural increase, the second is not, since births in the United States to foreign parents increase the class under consideration, while the deaths of the parents do not decrease it.

The following statement shows the percentages which the Negro population of the Southern states formed of the total Negro population of the United States in 1860, 1890, 1900, 1910, and 1920, and gives certain other percentages of interest in this connection:

¹ Numerical equivalent.

² Native white of native parentage; approximately same as pure native white stock.

CENSUS YEAR	PER CENT OF NEGRO POPULATION IN SOUTHERN STATES	PER CENT OF NATIVE NEGRO POP- ULATION OF UNITED STATES RE- MAINING IN STATE OF BIRTH	PER CENT URBAN IN NEGRO POP- ULATION OF UNITED STATES	PER CENT RURAL IN NEGRO POP- ULATION OF UNITED STATES
1860	92.2	(1)	(1)	(1)
1890	90.3	² 85.2	19.8	80.2
1900	89.7	84.4	22.7	77.3
1910	89.0	83.4	27.4	72.6
1920	85.2	80.1	34.0	66.0

In 1920 the Negro population of the United States numbered 10,463,131. This represented a 10-year increase of 635,000, or 6.5 per cent, the lowest thus far recorded. In consequence of this slow numerical progress the proportion formed by Negroes in the total population declined from 10.7 per cent in 1910 to 9.9 per cent in 1920. The highest proportion, 19.3 per cent, was recorded in 1790. One hundred and thirty years later, at the census of 1920, the proportion had shrunk to slightly more than half its original size. At the census of 1810 Negroes showed the greatest percentage of increase, 37.5, derived from a numerical increase of 375,000, or more than one-half that recorded 110 years later. The decennial increases from 1850 to 1910 ranged from 765,000 to double that number, and thus the increase for 1910 to 1920 was lower than for any previous decade since 1840. The Negro increase was greater at each of the last two censuses before emancipation than at a census taken more than half a century after that event.

6. THE INCREASING MARRIEDNESS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE³

Information secured through Federal census returns concerning the number of persons of each sex single, married, or widowed was

¹ No data available.

² Relates to total colored population, including Indian, Chinese, and Japanese; not computed separately for Negro population.

³ From Census Monograph No. 1: *Increase of Population in the United States, 1910-20*, Chapter XIII. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.; 1922.

first tabulated and published at the census of 1890. Comparative figures are therefore available for only 30 years. The possession of reasonably reliable statistics showing, for some early period, the proportions married and widowed among adult women would prove of great value because it would permit comparison of our own exceptional period with one reflecting those social conditions which prevailed prior to the so-called industrial revolution. Is such a comparison impossible? Are the exact proportions, during the colonial period of American history, of women single, married, and widowed among adult females of that period past finding out in our time? Fortunately there exists one colonial enumeration which throws some light upon this subject. At the New Hampshire enumeration of 1773 the following facts concerning white persons were secured:

MALES		FEMALES	
Total	36,739	Total	35,684
Under 16	18,334	Unmarried	22,228
Over 60	1,538	Married	11,837
Unmarried, 16-60	6,263	Widowed	1,569
Married, 16-60	10,604		

It is now possible to estimate the proportions single, married, and widowed in comparison with the corresponding proportions for 1920.

MARITAL CONDITION OF WOMEN 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER	1773, PER CENT (NEW HAMPSHIRE)	1920 PER CENT (UNITED STATES)	
		Native White	Total Population
Single	24.5	28.8	25.4
Married	66.7	60.4	62.2
Widowed	8.8	¹ 10.7	¹ 12.2

¹ Includes divorced.

A direct comparison between the New Hampshire census and the 1920 figures is perhaps best obtained by using the native white group for 1920, since the total population includes the Negro and the foreign-born elements, both of which groups introduce new factors into the problem. Making the comparison in this manner, if the proportion had been the same for the United States in 1920 as for New Hampshire in 1773, the number of unmarried native white women in the country would have been a million less than that shown by the census returns. This increase in the proportion single is presumably due to the increased opportunities for self-support, as suggested before, and to the change in the social status of the unmarried women.

The rather marked changes in the marital condition which have taken place during recent decades are worthy of analysis.

SUMMARY OF THE MARITAL CONDITION OF THE POPULATION
OF THE UNITED STATES: 1920 AND 1910

SEX AND CENSUS YEAR	TOTAL POPULA- TION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER	SINGLE		MARRIED		WIDOWED		DIVORCED	
		Number	Per Cent of Total	Number	Per Cent of Total	Number	Per Cent of Total	Number	Per Cent of Total
Both sexes									
1920 . .	72,098,178	22,584,467	31.3	43,168,199	59.9	5,675,933	7.9	508,588	0.7
1910 . .	62,473,130	21,483,299	34.4	35,777,287	57.3	4,617,618	7.4	341,230	0.5
Male:									
1920 . .	36,920,663	12,967,565	35.1	21,849,266	59.2	1,758,308	4.8	235,284	0.6
1910 . .	32,425,805	12,550,129	38.7	18,092,600	55.8	1,471,390	4.5	156,162	0.5
Female:									
1920 . .	35,177,515	9,616,902	27.3	21,318,933	60.6	3,917,625	11.1	273,304	0.8
1910 . .	30,047,325	8,933,170	29.7	17,684,687	58.9	3,176,228	10.6	185,068	0.6

The proportion married in the total population 15 years of age and over increased, and a corresponding reduction appeared in the proportion remaining single. The proportion of married males

increased sharply, while the proportion of married females also increased, but at a slower rate. The number of married men exceeds that of married women. This excess of a little over half a million represents, in general, those immigrants whose wives are in foreign countries. The ratio of males to females among the foreign born in the country, as recorded by the 1920 census, was approximately 122 to 100.

The increase in the proportion married is by no means peculiar to the last census. The proportions from 1890 have been as follows :

PER CENT MARRIED IN POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND
OVER: 1890-1920

CENSUS YEAR	BOTH SEXES	MALE	FEMALE
1920	59.9	59.2	60.6
1910	57.3	55.8	58.9
1900	55.7	54.5	57.0
1890	55.3	53.9	56.8

The tendency toward increase in the proportion married may be, to some degree, a logical development of the changing age distribution noted in the previous section. The proportion of the population 21 years of age and over is increasing, not only with reference to the total population of all ages but also with reference to the total population 15 years of age and over, and therefore, since most marriages do not take place until the husband at least is at or above the age of 21, the proportion of married persons in the total population 15 years of age and over would naturally show some increase. Thus the tendency noted throughout this 30-year period may result in some measure from changed age distribution.

This, however, is not sufficient to explain the entire increase in the proportion of married persons which occurred during the decade 1910 to 1920. Certain conditions were present in the country which doubtless stimulated the marriage rate. It was a decade of business prosperity. Wages were high, unemployment was rare, the demand for labor was steady, and general business activity prevailed. Such conditions in some degree tended to lift certain economic restraints

on marriage. The result was, naturally enough, an increase in the marriage rate; but perhaps the most important contributing cause was the influence of the war. There is a strong presumption that the war increased the number of married persons within the country. Doubtless some marriages were contracted in order to procure

PER CENT MARRIED IN TOTAL NUMBER OF MALES AND FEMALES
AT SPECIFIED AGES: 1920 AND 1910

AGE	MALES		FEMALES	
	1920	1910	1920	1910
Total 15 years and over	59.2	55.8	60.6	58.9
15 years	0.2	0.1	1.4	1.2
16 years	0.3	0.1	4.2	3.7
17 years	0.8	0.4	9.8	8.7
18 years	2.7	1.4	19.2	17.0
19 years	6.5	3.8	28.6	25.7
20 years	12.5	8.6	38.4	36.2
21 years	21.0	16.2	45.8	43.5
22 years	28.4	23.8	52.9	50.7
23 years	35.8	32.3	59.2	57.2
24 years	42.3	39.2	64.2	62.0
25 years	48.3	45.5	67.8	65.7
26 years	54.2	51.0	71.4	69.9
27 years	59.7	56.6	74.4	72.9
28 years	63.3	60.0	75.9	74.4
29 years	68.3	66.3	78.4	77.6
30 years	68.4	65.6	76.6	74.7
31 years	72.9	71.9	81.1	80.7
32 years	72.9	71.3	80.2	79.4
33 years	75.7	75.1	82.2	81.5
34 years	76.9	75.9	81.7	80.9
35 to 44 years	79.8	79.2	80.3	80.1
45 to 54 years	81.0	81.5	74.0	74.8
55 to 64 years	77.9	79.0	61.2	62.2
65 years and over	64.7	65.6	33.9	35.0

exemption from military service, but marriages induced by the war were in general those hastened by the entry of the male into military or naval service. Such tendencies probably account to some extent for the changed proportions recorded by the 1920 census.

The census of 1920 revealed a marked increase in the proportion of married persons among the younger element of the population. The proportion of persons married for the ages over 45 actually showed decreases, but the reverse was true of the younger age groups. For each year of age from 15 to 34, for both sexes, an increase appeared in 1920 in the proportion married as compared with 1910, the change being especially noticeable for the younger ages. For the ages 35 to 44, inclusive, considered as a group, there was also an increase during the decade, but less pronounced, especially in the case of women. Such a change should exert a marked influence on both the family life and the future increase of population in the Nation.

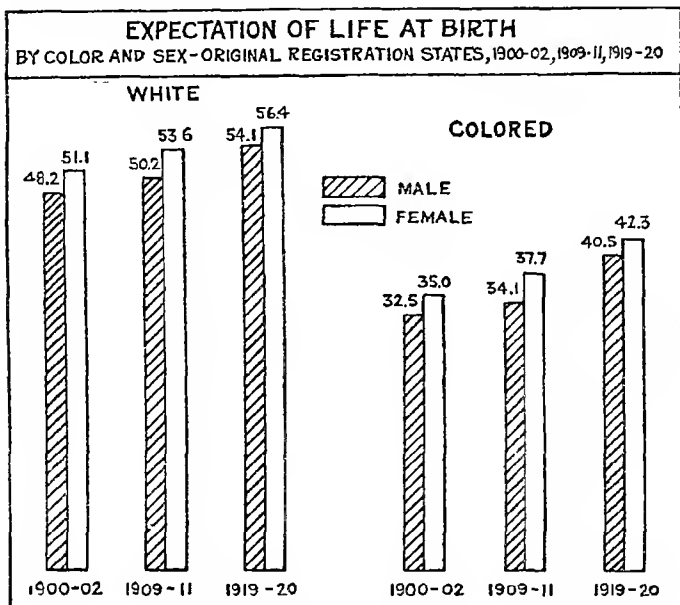
It is not until the age of 35 is passed that the proportion of males married at any particular age equals that of females; and such ages as 20 years, for example, are striking in that the proportion married is very much greater for females than for males. The fact that females marry at younger ages naturally results in a greater number of single men than of single women.

7. IMPROVEMENT IN THE LIFE PROSPECT¹

The figure [on page 16] presents the expectation at birth (mean after-lifetime) for white and colored persons of each sex, during the years 1900-02, 1909-11, and 1919-20, for the group of "original registration States." It is evident that, so far as expectation at birth is concerned, the decade 1910-20 has witnessed the same general progress as the previous decade. The females still have a better expectation than the males, in both white and colored populations. The colored show even more improvement than the white in expectation at birth in the past 10 years. In general it may be said that they have about the expectation at birth which the white had 30 or 40

¹ From *United States Public Health Reports*, Vol. 39, No. 15 (April 11, 1924). Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.; 1924.

years ago. Since the 1919-20 data cover years in which influenza was epidemic, the real gains are presumably greater for both white and colored than those indicated in the graph.



CONCLUSIONS

The recently published life tables, then, reveal the following tendencies :

(1) Continuation of the general improvement previously noted in expectation at birth.

(2) A somewhat greater improvement in expectation at birth among colored persons of each sex than among white.

(3) An increased length of life among persons of mature age — a group which in 1910 had shown a decrease in longevity.

(4) A more rapid decline in mortality in cities than in rural districts.

(5) A relatively greater mortality among women, especially at the ages from 20 to 30, than in 1910.

8. THE MALTHUSIAN ARGUMENT¹

"Through the animal and vegetable kingdom Nature has scattered the seeds of life abroad with the most profuse and liberal hand; but has been comparatively sparing in the room and nourishment necessary to rear them. . . . The race of plants and the race of animals shrink under this great restrictive law; and man cannot by any efforts of reason escape from it." Thus, population has a constant tendency to increase beyond the means of subsistence. If the supply of food were unlimited, the number of human beings would double in less than twenty-five years (as the population of North America had actually done apart from immigration, for a century and a half) and go on doubling itself four times in each century, or, in other words, increase in a geometrical ratio. On the other hand, the produce of this island (England) could hardly be doubled in the next twenty-five years and it certainly could not be quadrupled in fifty years. "Let us suppose that the yearly additions which might be made to the former produce, instead of decreasing, which they certainly would do, were to remain the same; and that the produce of this island might be increased every twenty-five years by a quantity equal to what it at present produces. The most enthusiastic speculator cannot suppose a greater increase than this. In a few centuries it would make every acre of land in the island like a garden. It is clear, then, that the means of subsistence could not be made to increase faster than in an arithmetical ratio. . . .

"The necessary efforts of these two different rates of increase when brought together will be very striking. . . ." Taking the whole earth, and thereby, of course, excluding emigration, "the human species would increase as the numbers 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256, and the subsistence as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. In two centuries the population would be to the means of subsistence as 256 to 9; in three centuries as 4096 to 13; and in two thousand years the difference would be almost incalculable.

"In this supposition no limits whatever are placed to the produce

¹ From Harold Wright, *Population*, pages 22-26 (quoting Malthus). Copyright, 1923, by Harcourt, Brace & Co., Inc., New York. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

of the earth. It may increase forever and be greater than any assignable quantity; yet still the power of population being in every period so much superior, the increase of the human species can only be kept down to the level of the means of subsistence by the constant operation of the strong law of necessity, acting as a check upon the greater power.

"The ultimate check to population appears, then, to be a want of food, arising necessarily from the different ratios according to which population and food increase. But this ultimate check is never the immediate check, except in cases of actual famine.

"The immediate check may be stated to consist in all those customs and all those diseases, which seem to be generated by a scarcity of the means of subsistence; and all those causes, independent of this scarcity, whether of a moral or physical nature, which tend prematurely to weaken and destroy the human frame.

"Those checks to population, which are constantly operating with more or less force in every society, . . . may be classed under two heads — the preventive and the positive checks.

"The preventive check, as far as it is voluntary, is peculiar to man." Unlike plants and animals, man is apt to consider whether he will be able to support his offspring before he brings them into the world. "In a state of equality, if such can exist, this would be a simple question. In the present state of society, other considerations occur. Will he not lower his rank in life, and be obliged to give up in great measure his former habits? Will he not at any rate subject himself to greater difficulties and more severe labor than in his single state?" . . .

"The positive checks to population include . . . all unwholesome occupations, severe labor and exposure to the seasons, extreme poverty, bad nursing of children, great towns, excesses of all kinds, the whole train of common diseases and epidemics, wars, plague and famine. . . ." These checks to population, both preventive and positive, are "all resolved into moral restraint, vice, and misery." . . .

To sum up :

1. "Population is necessarily limited by the means of subsistence.

2. "Population invariably increases where the means of subsistence increase, unless prevented by some very powerful and obvious checks.

3. "These checks, and the checks which repress the superior power of population, and keep its effects on a level with the means of subsistence, are all resolvable into moral restraint, vice, and misery."

9. COLLEGE WOMEN AS MOTHERS ¹

The following statements relate to the occupations, careers, and matrimonial condition of the graduates of the first thirty classes of Vassar College, from 1867 to 1896, inclusive. The records of 1302 women are included. The information is taken from the last general catalogue, which gives the history of all the classes to the end of the century; but the last four, 1897-1900, are not considered in this article.

The first question that everybody asks is, Do college women marry? The first ten classes, 1867-76, contain 323 members. Of this number 181, or 56.03 per cent, have married. The average age of a college woman at graduation is 22 years. Hence the age of these classes in 1900 averaged from 46 to 56 years — most of the members old enough to be grandmothers. It is quite possible that some of the living members may marry yet, for two instances were found in one class where marriage occurred 24 years after graduation; but making allowance for sporadic cases of this sort, 60 per cent would probably include the complete marriage record of the graduates of this period. . . .

The number of children next claims attention. These statistics are particularly valuable, for it is the first time any on this subject have been collected. The general catalogues of 1883 and 1890 contain no information on this point. The 181 marriages of the first decade have produced 361 children, or two to a marriage, a typical American family of the present day. In the second decade there are 191 marriages and 295 children, or 1.54 children to a marriage. It is fair to assume that this proportion will be increased.

¹ From Frances M. Abbott, "Three Decades of College Women," in *Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. 65, pages 350-359; 1904. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

In the last decade there are 169 marriages and 135 children, an obviously incomplete record.

Before leaving these matrimonial statistics, it may be worth while to compare them with those of the Harvard graduates, as set forth by President Eliot in his report of last year, which has not yet ceased to echo around the country. Dr. Eliot gave the records for six classes, 1872-76. Of the 881 members in those classes, 634 or 72 per cent had married. . . . It is interesting to note that the average number of children is precisely the same, both in the Harvard and in the Vassar families, two to each. The 634 Harvard fathers reported 1262 living children.

10. THE QUALITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE¹

It is worth our while to turn again to the results of the army examinations. One finds there that of 1,726,966 men examined, 46,347 were mentally under 10 years of age, to use the terms current in psychological nomenclature. They were in fact feeble-minded, though most of them were not proper institutional cases. The mental-age designation is somewhat inaccurate and meaningless, therefore one need not hold to it. The fact of more importance is that these men were so stupid that it was not even worth the while of the government to outfit them and try to train them for military service. They could not make of them the ordinary type of common soldier, who certainly does not need to be extremely intelligent to perform his regular duties. The army examinations of recruits inducted into the service, then, resulted in finding that 2.77 per cent were high-grade feeble-minded. In addition it is supposed that twice this percentage were rejected by the physicians making the original examination of the drafted men. Let us be conservative, however, and place the total number at 5 per cent.

The conclusion is that in the United States there are between 5 million and 6 million people who are often mentally above those who properly can be committed to institutions, yet who lack sufficient

¹ From Edward East, *Mankind at the Crossroads*, pages 315-316. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York; 1923. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

intelligence to go through the primary grades of our public schools. In addition, the same method of calculation shows about 20 millions whose intellects will not carry them through the grammar school even with hard driving. People with no sense worthy the name, defective stock, over 5 millions; people with little sense, scrub stock, 20 millions. These are the people who multiply at from one and a half to twice the rate of the superior classes of our population.

11. HOW TO PREVENT DETERIORATION OF THE HUMAN STOCK ¹

Changes in the quality and average capacity of the stock depend upon the heritable quality of the people who raise the most children. It is only possible to raise the average of the social group by getting the superior elements to contribute more than a proportionate share to each succeeding generation. For the race to maintain its present level, it is necessary for the superior stocks to increase at a rate at least equal to that of other elements of the population. If the fecundity of the superior stocks is less than that of the others, the race is perpetuated by the increase of the inferior folk and its quality undergoes a progressive decline. From the biological point of view, the problem of the superior is the problem of their fecundity: the problem of increasing the birth rate of the superior family strains.

Suggestions looking to this end have been great in number and varied in character. There is no occasion to deal with them here. On the positive side they may roughly be grouped into two classes: those which imply legislative action designed to control, directly or indirectly, marriage and the birth rate and those which imply the use of indirect and educative action. Among the first are such things as the endowment of motherhood, state aid to children, taxation on the childless and the unmarried, suppression of knowledge concerning means to family limitation, and provisions for a comfortable pregnancy and a safe and painless parturition. The indirect means suggested or advocated are numerous, but they all

¹ From Edward Byron Reuter, *Population Problems*, pages 322-324. J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia; 1923. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

propose to operate through a popular sentiment favorable to tolerably large families among the well endowed. To create this popular state of mind it is proposed that there be a social condemnation of excessively restricted families, an idealization of marriage and the family life, a depicting of celibacy and childlessness as dishonorable, proclaiming marriage as a healthier and happier state than a life of celibacy, preaching child-bearing as a patriotic duty, fostering a popular sentiment concerning the sacredness of the home, holding up the husband and father as particularly worthy of honor, religious and moral preaching designed to make superior people desire earlier marriages and more children, making eugenics a religion, improving the opportunities for sexual selection in marriage, and other similar suggestions.

QUESTIONS

1. Explain why the war aroused public interest in the population question.
2. With what view were marriages in Sparta supervised? Why?
3. What was the Athenian remedy for overpopulation?
4. Among what people has infanticide been practiced as a means of keeping the population within the means of subsistence?
5. Discuss briefly the distribution of the population of the United States in 1900; in 1920.
6. Summarize briefly the increase of population in the United States between 1790 and 1910.
7. What is the significance of the fact that more than one hundred million people now make their homes within the United States?
8. Summarize the five conclusions that may be drawn from a study of the New Life Tables.
9. Are people more "married" today than in 1890?
10. Account for the increase in the proportion of married persons which occurred during the decade 1910 to 1920.
11. Do college women marry? Do they have as many children as non-college women?
12. Summarize the Malthusian theory of population.
13. Show that the army results proved that America has neglected the quality problem of population.
14. How can we improve the quality of the American population?

CHAPTER TWO

INCREASING PRESSURE ON NATURAL RESOURCES

12. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FRONTIER IN AMERICAN HISTORY ¹

Behind institutions, behind constitutional forms and modifications, lie the vital forces that call these organs into life and shape them to meet changing conditions. The peculiarity of American institutions is the fact that they have been compelled to adapt themselves to the changes of an expanding people — to the changes involved in crossing a continent, in winning a wilderness, and in developing at each area of this progress out of the primitive economic and political conditions of the frontier into the complexity of city life. Said Calhoun in 1817, "We are great, and rapidly — I was about to say fearfully — growing!" ² So saying, he touched the distinguishing feature of American life. All peoples show development; the germ theory of politics has been sufficiently emphasized. In the case of most nations, however, the development has occurred in a limited area; and if the nation has expanded, it has met other growing peoples whom it has conquered. But in the case of the United States we have a different phenomenon. Limiting our attention to the Atlantic coast, we have the familiar phenomenon of the evolution of institutions in a limited area, such as the rise of representative government; the differentiation of simple colonial governments into complex organs; the progress from primitive industrial society, without division of labor, up to manufacturing civilization. But we have in addition to this a recurrence of the process of evolution in each western area reached in the process of expansion. Thus American development has exhibited not merely advance along a single line, but a return to primitive conditions on a continually advancing frontier line, and a new development for that area. American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. This perennial

¹ From Frederick J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, pages 2-3, 19-21, 37-38. Henry Holt & Co., New York; 1920 Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

² *Abridgment of Debates of Congress*, V, page 706.

rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating American character. The true point of view in the history of this nation is not the Atlantic coast, it is the Great West. Even the slavery struggle, which is made so exclusive an object of attention by writers like Professor von Holst, occupies its important place in American history because of its relation to westward expansion.

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In Peck's *New Guide to the West*, published in Boston in 1837, occurs this suggestive passage :

Generally, in all the Western settlements, three classes, like the waves of the ocean, have rolled one after the other. First comes the pioneer, who depends for the subsistence of his family chiefly upon the natural growth of vegetation, called the "range," and the proceeds of hunting. His implements of agriculture are rude, chiefly of his own make, and his efforts directed mainly to a crop of corn and a "truck patch." This last is a rude garden for growing cabbage, beans, corn for roasting ears, cucumbers, and potatoes. A log cabin, and, occasionally, a stable and corn-crib, and a field of a dozen acres, the timber girdled or "deadened," and fenced, are enough for his occupancy. It is quite immaterial whether he ever becomes the owner of the soil. He is the occupant for the time being, pays no rent, and feels as independent as the "lord of the manor." With a horse, cow, and one or two breeders of swine, he strikes into the woods with his family, and becomes the founder of a new county, or perhaps state. He builds his cabin, gathers around him a few other families of similar tastes and habits, and occupies till the range is somewhat subdued, and hunting a little precarious, or, which is more frequently the case, till the neighbors crowd around, roads, bridges, and fields annoy him, and he lacks elbow room. The preëmption law enables him to dispose of his cabin and cornfield to the next class of emigrants; and, to employ his own figures, he "breaks for the high timber," "clears out for the New Purchase," or migrates to Arkansas or Texas, to work the same process over.

The next class of emigrants purchase the lands, add field to field, clear out the roads, throw rough bridges over the streams, put up hewn log houses with glass windows and brick or stone chimneys, occasionally plant orchards, build mills, schoolhouses, courthouses, etc., and exhibit the picture and forms of plain, frugal, civilized life.

Another wave rolls on. The men of capital and enterprise come. The settler is ready to sell out and take the advantage of the rise in property, push farther into the interior and become himself a man of capital and enterprise in turn. The small village rises to a spacious town or city; sub-

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stantial edifices of brick, extensive fields, orchards, gardens, colleges, and churches are seen. Broadcloths, silks, leghorns, crapes, and all the refinements, luxuries, elegancies, frivolities, and fashions are in vogue. Thus wave after wave is rolling westward; the real Eldorado is still further on.

A portion of the two first classes remain stationary amidst the general movement, improve their habits and condition, and rise in the scale of society.

The writer has traveled much amongst the first class, the real pioneers. He has lived many years in connection with the second grade; and now the third wave is sweeping over large districts of Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. Migration has become almost a habit in the West. Hundreds of men can be found, not over fifty years of age, who have settled for the fourth, fifth, or sixth time on a new spot. To sell out and remove only a few hundred miles makes up a portion of the variety of backwoods life and manners.

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From the conditions of frontier life came intellectual traits of profound importance. The works of travelers along each frontier from colonial days onward describe certain common traits, and these traits have, while softening down, still persisted as survivals in the place of their origin, even when a higher social organization succeeded. The result is that to the frontier the American intellect owes its striking characteristics. That coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends; that restless, nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil, and withal that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom — these are traits of the frontier, or traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier. Since the days when the fleet of Columbus sailed into the waters of the New World, America has been another name for opportunity, and the people of the United States have taken their tone from the incessant expansion which has not only been open but has even been forced upon them. He would be a rash prophet who should assert that the expansive character of American life has now entirely ceased. Movement has been its dominant fact and, unless this training has no effect upon a people, the American energy will continually demand a wider field for its exercise. But never again will such gifts of free land offer themselves. For a moment, at the frontier, the bonds of custom are broken and unre-

straint is triumphant. There is no *tabula rasa*. The stubborn American environment is there with its imperious summons to accept its conditions; the inherited ways of doing things are also there; and yet, in spite of environment, and in spite of custom, each frontier did indeed furnish a new field of opportunity, a gate of escape from the bondage of the past; and freshness, and confidence, and scorn of older society, impatience of its restraint and its ideas, and indifference to its lessons, have accompanied the frontier. What the Mediterranean Sea was to the Greeks, breaking the bond of custom, offering new experiences, calling out new institutions and activities, that, and more, the ever retreating frontier has been to the United States directly, and to the nations of Europe more remotely. And now, four centuries from the discovery of America, at the end of a hundred years of life under the Constitution the frontier has gone, and with its going has closed the first period of American history.

13. THE PERIOD OF CONSERVATION¹

About the year 1900 a great number of men prominent in politics — educators, editors, and others of public-spirited character — became suddenly awakened to the potent fact that the natural resources of the country could not be lavishly used and wantonly wasted indefinitely without great danger of ultimate disaster. Like other movements there was an earlier phase to the conservation program. It was clearly appreciated by Major J. W. Powell in 1878, as shown in his report on the arid lands. The creation of national forests, a desire for which became manifest soon after the Civil War, took tangible form following an act passed in 1891, as a result of which Presidents Harrison and Cleveland set aside tracts of large proportions as forest reserves. Within six years, reserves, the equivalent in area to a state the size of Michigan, were withdrawn from the disposable public domain.

The conservation period, even though lapping back thirty or more years in some of its manifestations, had a more definite beginning than can be attributed to the other periods into which the history

¹ From B. H. Hibbard, *A History of the Public Land Policies*, pages 472-475. The Macmillan Company, New York; 1924. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

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of the public domain can be divided. Moreover, it owes its origin to the work of science. The American Association for the Advancement of Science is on record on the general subject as early as 1873, and the National Academy of Science in 1897 was directly influential in the developments of the national forestry. The conservation enterprise owes much to such men as Roosevelt, Gifford Pinchot, W. J. McGee, and F. H. Newell, but perhaps most of all to Dr. B. E. Fernow, Dean of the Faculty of Forestry of the University of Toronto. Dr. Fernow had been a forester and conservationist in Germany, and as early as the seventies was advocating conservation measures for the United States. Professors R. T. Ely, E. J. James, and Simon N. Patten were early advocates of conservation policies.

In November, 1907, President Roosevelt, at the request of the Inland Waterways Commission, called a conference, mainly the governors, but including many others. In fact the meeting, held in May, 1908, turned out to be a large one, both scientific and political interests being well represented. The conference did what it was destined to do: it impressed the people of the country with the importance of the conservation of the resources which had almost without exception been used with no appreciation of its ultimate limitation of supply. A set of remarkable resolutions was adopted, many of which were destined to be carried out tardily enough, but some of which resulted in prompt action. A National Conservation Commission was appointed (though not supported by Congress and therefore ineffective), and the most of the states established conservation commissions. The movement outran national boundaries and the President called a North American Conservation Congress, which convened at Washington in 1909, and later in the same year requested a meeting of the leading nations of the world at The Hague for the consideration of world resources. A National Conservation Association, a voluntary body, was organized following the failure of Congress to support the official body appointed by the President.

The most imperative need of action in our own country was in connection with the forests and coal lands of the public domain. Mr. Roosevelt promptly withdrew 148,000,000 acres as forest reserve and 80,000,000 acres as potential coal lands. In addition

to these almost incomprehensible acreages, withdrawals of great areas of potential power sites and phosphate lands were made. All together 234,000,000 acres, an area nearly an eighth of the United States, were withdrawn from private entry, and while much land in the aggregate has been restored to entry privileges, the major portion of this vast amount is unquestionably in the hands of the government to stay. Thus the conservation program was more consciously adopted, the movement more consciously launched, than was the case with earlier programs.

During the latest period the things accomplished are far short of the miraculous, and yet enough has been done already in the way of forestry and the control of minerals to characterize the period as one unlike the preceding. The recent developments in connection with the leasing of coal and oil privileges demonstrated the weakness of the administrative machinery of the government in caring for its property. The frauds in the handling of oil are no worse in kind than many that have preceded in connection with power and irrigation sites or even in the use of range land. They are simply more spectacular and more tangible with respect to personalities and the use of money.

14. TENDENCIES IN LAND TENURE¹

Land is either owned by the farmer or rented under one or more of the various methods of leasing used in this country. Some farm operators own all of the land they operate (owner farmers), others own none of it (tenants or croppers), and still others own part and rent part (part owners or owners additional). Sometimes farm operators employ managers to direct the business of farming. Our census statistics classify farmers into these four groups, and in the census of 1920 croppers in the Southern States, who supply no work animals and in most cases are laborers paid by a part of the crop rather than in cash, were separated as a subgroup under tenants.

The relative importance of these four classes of farmers may be measured not only in terms of the proportion of farms operated by

¹ From *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture, 1923*, pages 509-512. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

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each class, but also from the standpoint of the proportion of the acreage of all farm land, of improved land, and of the valuation of farm real estate operated by each of these tenure classes. These four methods of measuring the relative importance of the four tenure classes give somewhat different results (Fig. 2).

TENURE OF FARM REAL ESTATE MEASURED IN FOUR WAYS, UNITED STATES,
CENSUS OF 1920

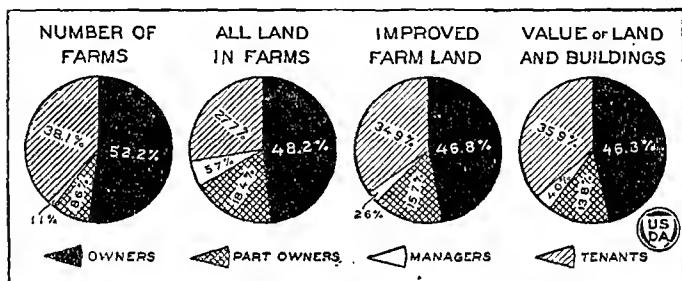


FIG. 2. More than half the farms in the United States are operated by full owners, but somewhat less than half of the land or of the value of farm real estate. Although tenants who rent all the land they operate constitute over 38 per cent of all farmers, they operate less than 28 per cent of the farm land, only about 35 per cent of the improved land, and about 36 per cent of the value of farm real estate. Manager-operated farms average five times as large in total acreage as other farms, have about $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as much improved land, and are valued, on the average, at nearly four times as much.

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF THE TENURE CLASSES AT PRESENT

Although over half the farms in 1920 were operated by farmers who own all the land, less than half the farm land was in these full-owner farms, and an even smaller proportion of the improved land and of the valuation of the farm real estate. But if part owners be included, whose farms are much larger than those of full owners, the percentage of the total farm land operated by these two classes rises to 66.6, as compared with 60.8 per cent of the number of farms. On the other hand, tenants constituted over 38 per cent of the farmers of the United States, but operated less than 28 per cent of the improved land and of the valuation of farm real estate. As shown

in Figure 3, the proportion of farm homes rented by the occupants is smaller than in the case of urban homes. Moreover, some of these farm tenants own other farms. While no census statistics bearing on this point are available, local surveys in 15 States indicate that about 10 per cent of the tenants owned farm land.

PERCENTAGE OF FARM HOMES RENTED COMPARED WITH OTHER HOMES,
UNITED STATES, CENSUS OF 1920

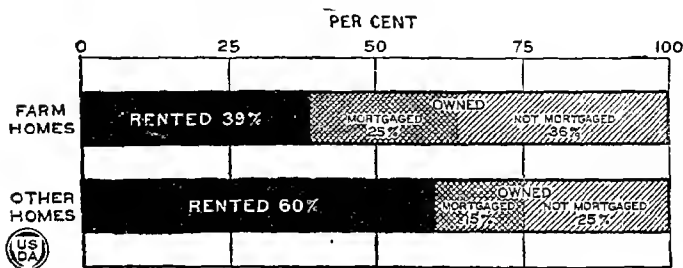


FIG. 3. The proportion of the farm homes rented is only about two-thirds as large as the proportion of city and village homes rented. The proportion of farm homes free of mortgage encumbrance and occupied by the owners is also larger than in the case of other homes. Farm homes comprise the homes of persons engaged in farming and located on farms. Homes occupied by farm managers are included under farm homes rented.

The relative importance of manager-operated farms, like those of part owners, is greater than their number would indicate, for such farms are not only larger in average area and valuation than other classes of farms, but also in the South there are many plantations worked by croppers and tenants, under the close supervision and direction of a manager. Even though the entire plantation is so operated, each tenant or cropper holding would be reported in the census as a farm, but the estate as a whole would not be reported as operated by a manager.

The same condition tends to exaggerate the relative importance of tenant farming as compared with owner farming, for many of the plantations of the South, as well as a considerable number of large farms in other parts of the country, although divided up into so-called farms worked by tenants and croppers, are actually under the

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close supervision and management of the owners. Excluding croppers classified in Southern States only, tenant farms in the country as a whole comprised only 32.2 per cent of the total number of farms in 1920 and white tenant farms only 28.7 per cent of the farms operated by whites.¹

OWNERS, PART OWNERS, MANAGERS, AND TENANTS; PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL FARMERS; UNITED STATES, CENSUS 1880-1920

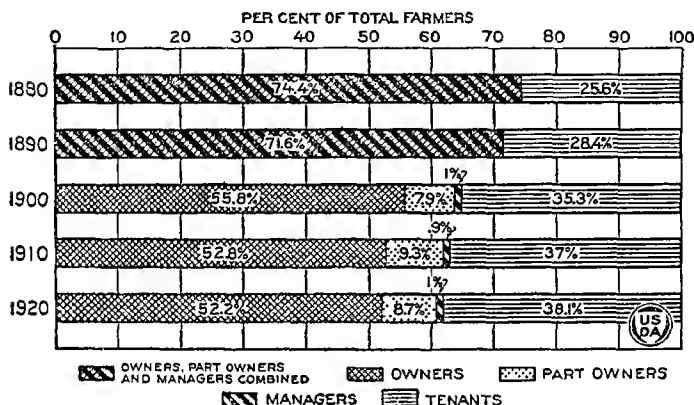


FIG. 4. In 1880 and 1890 owners, part owners, and managers were not separated in the census statistics. The increase in percentage of tenancy between 1880 and 1900 was $3\frac{1}{2}$ times the increase between 1900 and 1920.

THE TREND IN RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF THE TENURE CLASSES

In 1880, when census statistics of tenure first became available, about one-fourth of the farms in the United States were operated by tenants. The proportion has increased in each decade since that time, but the increase in the proportion of tenants from 1900 to 1910 was not marked, and from 1910 to 1920 was still smaller (Fig. 4). Moreover, when the percentages are calculated on the basis of per-

¹ No attempt was made by the Census Bureau to separate croppers from tenants before 1920. In that census they were defined and enumerated as tenants to whom the work stock was furnished by the landlord. The tabulations were made only for the South and showed 561,091 croppers in that section. Some farmers corresponding to the above description are to be found in other parts of the country, although relatively few in number.

sons engaged in agriculture, instead of on the basis of number of farms operated, it appears that the increase in the percentage of tenant farms was not entirely at the expense of the proportion of owner farmers, but may have been partly at the expense of farm wage laborers (Fig. 5).

OWNER FARMERS, AND TENANTS, AND OTHER PERSONS (MOSTLY WAGE LABORERS); PERCENTAGE OF ALL PERSONS 10 YEARS OLD AND OVER ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURAL PURSUITS, UNITED STATES, 1880-1920

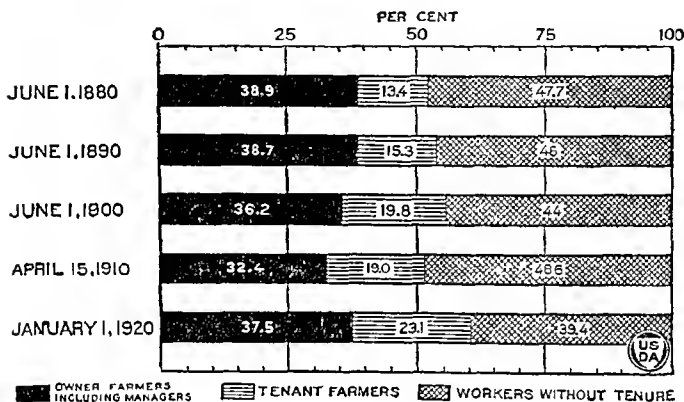


FIG. 5. On account of changes in the time of year of taking the census, the percentages shown above, particularly those showing the number of farm laborers, are not exactly comparable. The first three census enumerations were taken as of June 1, and indicate that the rapid increase in the percentage of tenant farms was partly at the expense of the proportion of owner farmers and partly at the expense of farm-wage laborers. The census of 1920 was taken as of January 1, and as a result a much smaller number of laborers were reported than would have been reported if it had been taken June 1. On the other hand, the figures as of April 15, 1910, may have resulted in exaggerating the number of farm laborers.

15. THE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ¹

The United States is in the midst of its second century. The little fringe of settlements along the Atlantic seaboard, counting only three million souls, has pushed the course of its empire to the

¹ From Edward M. East, *Mankind at the Crossroads*, pages 146-148, 167-168, 194. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1923. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers

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Pacific. Within its limits there are 107 million people. The land has been spanned by a network of railroads. Cities have appeared as if by magic. Industry has expanded by leaps and bounds. Wealth has been at hand for the taking by any resolute character with the courage of his convictions. Comparatively speaking, economic stress has been absent. With the exception of those four regrettable years of the Civil War, its existence has been singularly calm and happy. . . . The United States is so well stocked with the raw materials of mechanical industry there need be no worry on that score at present. When questioned as to the supply of each commodity, she can copy the reply of the merchant of the *Arabian Nights*, "I have abundance." During the late war, a detailed survey of resources showed the country to be lacking in scarcely anything, except two or three of the rarer metals. . . . In stored energy, also, the country has been blessed beyond measure. The world's coal reserves, actual and potential, amount to about 7,000,000 millions of tons — a comforting fact to think about early on a February morning. An estimate by the Geological Survey gives the United States just about half this supply — something over 3,000,000 millions of tons. The annual production, including the slate and stone one pays for, is in the neighborhood of 500 million tons. At this per capita rate, the anthracite will last only a few decades more and the high-grade bituminous will go in about 500 years, but the reserve of low-grade coal ought to provide for reasonable wants for another 1000 years at least. The rest of the world is more thrifty, or more sleepy if you wish; at the current rate of mining the known supplies will last nearly 7000 winters.

Then there is oil. Mr. Hearne, writing in *The Sphere*, believes oil to be so plentiful that it will ultimately displace coal — at any rate for a time. He promises more and more discoveries of petroleum, and judging from the known distribution of oil-shales, he may be correct. But the difficulty in making predictions in the case of oil is great, because the reserves cannot be estimated with any great degree of precision even when the distribution is known. The United States, with an annual production of between 300 millions and 400 millions of barrels, rather swamps the production of the rest of the world; but we are using it as fast as we get it, and even

today are feverishly hunting for further supplies. It is also noticeable that more and more capital is going into the industry in proportion to the results obtained. In other words, decreasing returns are even now visible on the horizon.

In a word, then, even the hope of extending the time when there will be the same degree of comfort as in the past is not extremely bright, if the present rate of population increase should continue. Between 1910 and 1920, 16 per cent was added to the country's numbers. At this rate the population doubles in 44 years. Thus, today we are tending to a population of 214,000,000 in 1964. That is to say, if the current expansion rate is not decreased, men of the present generation will see the United States peopled beyond the maximum agricultural possibilities set by the calculations made a few pages before. Since the old axiom still holds that the container must be larger than the thing contained, it follows that this rate will be cut down. The only question is whether it will be cut down because we wish it or because we cannot help it. It is a hard fact that the probability of food increase is not in keeping with this rate. . . . After all, the brightest ray of hope for an increasing return per unit area is from efficient application of the best methods of crop rotation, tillage, protection, harvesting, and marketing, made possible by increasing the amount of man-power used. There is no royal road to raising turnips.

If we do this calmly, without bias, and accept frankly the statistical results coming out of the mill, five conclusions will be reached:

1. The people of the United States reveled in cheap food in the past because low-priced land was so plentiful they could be satisfied with whatever returns were obtained by the hasty, inefficient methods of culture made possible by the powerful tools of industry.

2. The reserve of virgin soil approached an end in quantity, or, what amounts to the same thing, decreased markedly in quality, between 1890 and 1900. Since that time there have been diminishing returns in agriculture in the sense that a given amount of capital and of labor has produced constantly less and less.

3. Better methods of agriculture will allow enhanced production per unit area amounting to at least 50 per cent over the current

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amount, but this will only come about through an increased use of man-power.

4. All increase will be temporary, and even current production cannot be maintained, unless the essential elements of soil fertility are conserved by every possible method.

5. If comfort and satisfaction on the farm are not equivalent on the average to what is obtained in other walks of life, if agriculture is to be at the mercy of powerful industrial labor-unions directed by narrow, scheming opportunists, or stifled by the short-sighted greed of capital, this machine-made civilization of ours will shortly burst like a tree which is rotten at the heart.

The problem is one having several sharply defined phases.

1. Accurate and comprehensive agricultural statistics should be collected and made available quickly. With these facts as a basis the government should be able to keep its hand on the throttle of agricultural production, and should be able to prevent serious excess or deficiency in each crop subdivision. By similar advisory work, it should gradually be possible to have the food resources of the nation marketed more nearly continuously throughout the year. Both glut and scarcity might thus be avoided.

2. Transportation should be facilitated in every way consistent with industrial economy.

3. An analysis of the means and the costs by which food passes from producer to consumer should be made, with a system for more direct marketing and lessened middleman costs as the outcome. A markedly successful effort toward this end was made by the United States Food Administration during the war; so it is not a mere dream.

4. Deliberate speculative manipulation of food prices should be prohibited.

5. Hazards of buying and marketing on short-time contracts which are necessarily attended by somewhat of the speculative should be reduced to a minimum by whatever means is found adequate.

6. An agricultural foreign policy should be inaugurated which will have as its primary aim the stabilization of prices and the conservation of soil wealth.

In the last analysis, the future food supply of the world depends upon the conservation of soil fertility. . . . The campaign for a truly permanent system of agriculture where productivity is kept high without soil robbery should not be allowed to lapse, but should be prosecuted more and more vigorously.

16. THE SPIRITUAL WEST ¹

As we turn from the task of the first rough conquest of the continent there lies before us a whole wealth of unexploited resources in the realm of the spirit. Arts and letters, science and better social creation, loyalty and political service to the commonweal—these and a thousand other directions of activity are open to the men who formerly, under the incentive of attaining distinction by amassing extraordinary wealth, saw success only in material display. Newer and finer careers will open to the ambitious when once public opinion shall award the laurels to those who rise above their fellows in these new fields of labor. It has not been the gold, but the getting of the gold, that has caught the imaginations of our captains of industry. Their real enjoyment lay not in the luxuries which wealth brought, but in the work of construction and in the place which society awarded them. A new era will come if schools and universities can only widen the intellectual horizon of the people, help to lay the foundations of a better industrial life, show them new goals for endeavor, inspire them with more varied and higher ideals.

The Western spirit must be invoked for new and nobler achievements. Of that matured Western spirit, Tennyson's Ulysses is a symbol.

. . . I am become a name;
For always roaming with a hungry heart
Much have I seen and known; . . .
I am a part of all that I have met;
Yet all experience is an arch wherethro'
Gleams that untraveled world, whose margin fades
Forever and forever when I move.

¹ From Frederick J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, pages 309-310, 357-359. Henry Holt & Co., New York; 1920. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

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How dull it is to pause, to make an end,
To rust unburnish'd, not to shine in use!

And this gray spirit yearning in desire
To follow knowledge like a shining star,
Beyond the utmost bound of human thought.

. . . Come, my friends,
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world.
Push off, and sitting well in order smite
The sounding furrows; for my purpose holds
To sail beyond the sunset, and the baths
Of all the western stars, until I die.

To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.

Pioneer democracy has had to learn lessons by experience: the lesson that government on principles of free democracy can accomplish many things which the men of the middle of the nineteenth century did not realize were even possible. They have had to sacrifice something of their passion for individual unrestraint; they have had to learn that the specially trained man, the man fitted for his calling by education and experience, whether in the field of science or of industry, has a place in government; that the rule of the people is effective and enduring only as it incorporates the trained specialist into the organization of that government, whether as umpire between contending interests or as the efficient instrument in the hands of democracy.

Organized democracy after the era of free land has learned that popular government to be successful must not only be legitimately the choice of the whole people; that the offices of that government must not only be open to all, but that in the fierce struggle of nations in the field of economic competition and in the field of war, the salvation and perpetuity of the republic depend upon recognition of the fact that specialization of the organs of the government, the choice of the fit and the capable for office, is quite as important as the extension of popular control. When we lost our free lands and our isolation from the Old World, we lost our immunity from the results of mistakes, of waste, of inefficiency, and of inexperience in our government.

But in the present day we are also learning another lesson which was better known to the pioneers than to their immediate successors. We are learning that the distinction arising from devotion to the interests of the commonwealth is a higher distinction than mere success in economic competition. America is now awarding laurels to the men who sacrifice their triumphs in the rivalry of business in order to give their service to the cause of a liberty-loving nation, their wealth and their genius to the success of her ideals. That craving for distinction which once drew men to pile up wealth and exhibit power over the industrial processes of the nation, is now finding a new outlet in the craving for distinction that comes from a service to the Union, in satisfaction in the use of great talent for the good of the republic.

And all over the nation, in voluntary organizations for aid to the government, is being shown the pioneer principle of association that was expressed in the "house raising." It is shown in the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, the councils and boards of science, commerce, labor, and agriculture; and in all the countless other types, from the association of women in their kitchen who carry out the recommendations of the Food Director and revive the plain living of the pioneer, to the Boy Scouts who are laying the foundations for a self-disciplined and virile generation worthy to follow the trail of the backwoodsmen. It is an inspiring prophecy of the revival of the old pioneer conception of the obligations and opportunities of neighborliness, broadening to a national and even to an international scope. The promise of what that wise and lamented philosopher, Josiah Royce, called "the beloved community." In the spirit of the pioneer's "house raising" lies the salvation of the Republic.

This, then, is the heritage of pioneer experience, — a passionate belief that a democracy was possible which should leave the individual a part to play in free society and not make him a cog in a machine operated from above; which trusted in the common man, in his tolerance, his ability to adjust differences with good humor, and to work out an American type from the contributions of all nations — a type for which he would fight against those who challenged it in arms, and for which in time of war he would make

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sacrifices, even the temporary sacrifice of individual freedom and his life, lest that freedom be lost forever.

QUESTIONS

1. Show how the Westward Expansion has influenced American history.
2. How did the conditions of frontier life mold American character?
3. Trace the development of the conservation program since 1900. Explain the term "conservation."
4. Are we becoming a nation of landlords and tenants? Trace the trend in relative importance of the tenure classes since 1880.
5. Are we at the crossroads in regard to population and food supply? What must we do to prevent this? Upon what does the future food supply of the world depend?
6. Discuss the economic reasons for limiting the size of the family.
7. What lessons did pioneer democracy have to learn?
8. Show that the spirit of the pioneer's "house raising" exists today. Why does Turner say that in this spirit lies the salvation of the Republic?

CHAPTER THREE

THE DRIFT TO THE CITIES

17. CAUSES FOR MIGRATION CITYWARD¹

(1) The increase in the proportion of the population engaged in producing commodities and in rendering regular services;

(2) The decrease in the proportion of part-time agricultural workers residing on farms;

(3) The increase in the ratio of working years per capita to the per capita life span, so far as resulting from increased longevity of persons attaining working age;

(4) The decrease in the proportion of farm labor time absorbed in clearing, draining, and fencing land and in equipping land with structural improvements;

(5) The increase in the use of city-made machinery and devices for saving farm labor;

(6) The increase in the use of mineral instead of agricultural sources of fuel and dyes;

(7) The decrease in the relative prominence of agricultural products among the nation's exports;

(8) The decrease in the proportion of all immigrants who become engaged in agriculture in this country;

(9) The decrease in the proportion of farm products consumed on the farm or in near-by markets;

(10) The relative inelasticity or inexpandibility of per capita demand for foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials as compared with the relative elasticity or expandibility of per capita demand for professional services, for personal and commodity transportation, and for the conversion, fabrication, and elaboration of goods; and

(11) The shifting of household manufacturing, farm shop work, and some of the road hauling to persons no longer classified as engaged in agriculture. . . .

¹ From Charles L. Stewart, "Migration to and from Our Farms," in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, pages 57-60 (January, 1925). Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

Reasons why individuals and families have joined the cityward movements or land-settlement movements are complementary to the causes enumerated. Dependent persons naturally move with migrating breadwinners. Some breadwinners shift on account of similar action by others. Probably the majority move, however, because of rational desires to find new environments suited to their particular abilities and tastes.

18. SOME UNWRITTEN HISTORY OF FARMS ¹

The history of the United States is so brief that even the vestigial memories of men grown bookish retain much of it. We may still talk with veterans of the Civil War; they may have talked with men who served in the Revolution. Three generations of but thirty years each carry our farm families back to times when all their hay was mowed by scythes and all their grain was reaped by cradles and sickles, bound by hand, and thrashed by flails. Historians do not write of such matters, but they are talked of in farm homes; many things are written that mean less to the fortunes of Americans.

A grandfather may have been born in 1832, a father may have been born in 1862, and a son, now only thirty, may have been born in 1892. If the three generations have farmed in the United States, they have differed in the fundamentals of their education, in their aspirations, and in their ways of life. Men centuries apart have not differed so much in times past; men of diverse nations and even races need not differ so much today.

The grandfather born in 1832 was lawfully a man in 1853; his formative years included the Mexican War. He was a pioneer and necessarily skilled in many trades. His father's farm provided wool and flax or cotton for the family raiment; the household industries included spinning, weaving, dressmaking, and tailoring. Home-tanned skins of farm animals or wild animals were shaped at home into harness, shoes, caps, and often into full costumes. The grandfather was not unschooled; he could read, write, and cipher; his reading was not limited to his Bible, but he read that and did not doubt its meaning. Schooling was a small part of his education.

¹ From Clarke F. Ansley, in *The Survey*, Vol. 51, pages 203-205 (November 15, 1923). Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

He had pride in his skill in farm and pioneer crafts. He was ambidextrous with the ax and could stand in his place and fell a tree, leaving a low, smooth stump that would not needlessly bother his plowing. He could hew to a line, and could build a log house with riven shingles, puncheon floor, and a fireplace that would draw. His clearing and the wilderness about it would meet all needs of his family except salt, for which occasionally he made a long journey carrying furs or other articles that would be accepted in trade.

The grandfather's heroes included Daniel Boone and Davy Crockett. Like them, he sought the frontier. He had his place in the winning of the West; he would not have held his self-respect if he had not done his part to make America a white man's country. His friends who left farming temporarily or permanently were lured as he was to adventure. Some panned gold in California; some freighted with ox teams across the Plains; some took to lumbering, rafting their logs down the great rivers. The story of their generation is told in farm homes; it is a nobler theme than the siege of Troy, worthy of a greater Homer, unless we, who have no Homer, detract from its significance by unworthiness of comparison with the civilization that followed the siege.

The grandfather's son is assumed to have been born in 1862 and so to have reached manhood in 1883. His time was less migratory; he inherited land that his father had won from the wilderness, and his life work was given to improving the farm. He built the farm buildings, or rather he paid for them; they are of purchased materials and mechanics' work. His interests were in improved livestock and in horse-drawn implements that replaced hand tools. The scythe was to him no occasion for vanity; he could use it in a way along roads and in odd corners; but his hay was cut by a mowing machine and windrowed by a horse rake. He never used a sickle or a cradle in his grain; such tools were not on his farm. He learned to bind his station following a reaper; but soon the self-binder made even that craft as obsolete as the scythe. He never learned to swing a flail; the thrashing machine always came to thrash his grain. He grew good crops, but he marketed them as livestock and his pride was especially in his cattle, hogs, and horses.

Some of his friends who did not farm were lured to pioneering on new frontiers, but many were attracted by cities or by towns that grew to cities. The professions were open to them. A farm boy might "read law" under the tutelage of a local attorney and become a lawyer as Lincoln had; he might "read medicine" for a year under the local physician as a part of a medical course. He might become a minister. He might enter business, and in that as in the professions no heights were inaccessible to ability and application. But on the whole no career seemed better than farming. It looked to men of this father's time as it looked to Ralph Waldo Emerson, who said: "All historic nobility rests on possession and use of land." The father was developing an estate and founding a landed family such as in England would have been humiliated by descent to commerce or to some professions. It seems odd now that there was such a vision, but there was; it is interpreted in Vachel Lindsay's poem, "The Proud Farmer."

The son of this proud farmer has farmed his father's acres in a later stage of the industrial revolution. New and effective toll gates between him and his market have kept him from adding to his barns and from painting the buildings left him by his father. Fine livestock loses money faster than he can afford; it has become a toy of millionaires. Everywhere in the world nobility and gentry based on possession and use of land fast become extinct; for good or ill, a peasantry inherits the earth. Parceling of large estates even by confiscation meets with no effective or spirited resistance, for taxes and upkeep everywhere leave farm rents a poor resource or a deficit. Where parceling is not compelled, it is earnestly sought by owners of farm land. In America as in England and elsewhere, farm land is a buyer's market; he can buy a farm for less than the improvements have cost, and on terms that would not be thought of in a sale of other property. Farm values are problematical. When 5 per cent of owners found opportunity to unload, America was scandalized by the "boom." Those who bought are pitied as are those who neglected to sell or could not find buyers.

The pioneer hoped that his descendants would profit by his labors. American farming is not done by aspirants to peasant status. Even

immigrants of peasant stock have come to America hoping to improve their fortunes. They came because they were unwilling to remain peasants; to escape peasant status, their children now migrate to cities. In 1922, migration from American farms exceeded migration to them by 1,120,000.

Young men and women of farm families are the first to leave. The farmer now thirty years old is reluctant to abandon land that his grandfather and his father gave the work of their lives to change from wilderness to a white man's homestead. His grandfather could work in many trades; he knows none. His father's skill in farming is his, but it has become no way to distinction and pride, or even to comfort. His youth is gone, the professions have become standardized, and he cannot enter one of them. He stays on his land if he can. He does not hire help; he cannot pay city wages because he and his family cannot make as much as a city laborer is paid. The farm hands of New York number 60 per cent less in 1923 than in 1916; there is now one farm hand to six farms. The farmer does not, because he cannot, buy machinery to meet the depreciation of what he has. He drifts toward the man with the hoe, and his interest turns to labor-saving grass and sheep.

The farmer's sons can no longer enter professions as Lincoln became a lawyer. Exceptional provisions are theoretic rather than real. To practice medicine requires at least four years in a medical college, and to enter the medical college requires at least four years of preliminary schooling away from home. The country doctor no longer is recognized as competent to teach; in fact, he has gone from the country and no one seeks his once honored place. The changes may be beneficial. The more standardized physician may be better than the less standardized; but the country now has neither, and the profession is inaccessible to farm boys. The more standardized higher education may be better than the less standardized; but if the farm boy now seeks higher education, he must seek it away from the farm to which he does not return.

Ways into business have changed like ways into professions. Big business has absorbed what it could; the little businesses that are left are businesses that stay little. The farm boy leaves the farm to escape peasantry; he leaves without a trade, a profession, or a

business. Very rarely he works his way through high school and college to a white-collar job; but commonly he accepts the lot of the unskilled. When unemployment comes, he goes where employment is said to be; the I. W. W. gains a recruit. In one way only is the modern farm boy likely to have a better chance. He has grown up among machines as his father among horses and his grandfather among hand tools. The farm boy of our time knows the steam traction engine that runs the thrasher and the silo filler; he knows the gasoline or kerosene tractor and all the machinery for which it gives power. He knows the cars and trucks that have proved more economical than horses on the long country roads. The gifted and ambitious farm boy in the city is likely now to be found among machines. It is an age of machines, and some think that in the end they will serve those who make and use them. That is a chance farm boys have.

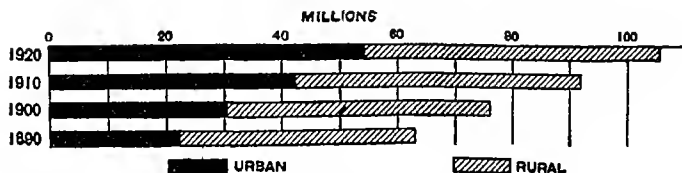
Farmers, once known as conservative, are known now as radical. It is mystifying, since the farmer is a capitalist and an employer of labor. The accepted explanation is hysteria, brought on by too much leisure for thinking. The explanation may be right, but explanations are not producing cotton. Whether they will produce wheat is to be tried next. Reducing the population is advocated. Relations between population and food supply seem clear; the two decrease or increase together, and either process may go far. If many farmers come to town or revert to hand tools, population will decrease; but the farmer who comes to town may not be cured of his radicalism. The farmer who stays may be; the remaining cotton-field Negro and the man with the hoe are not radical. The past has included eras when mankind consisted wholly of conservatives like these. In Europe the opinion prevails that another such era has begun. Primitive agriculture is advancing from eastern Europe to the west; it has won the most of the continent. From the stage of primitive agriculture, "after some centuries of repose," says Bertrand Russell, "it will be possible to begin reconstruction, as in Charlemagne's time." As in Charlemagne's time and always, the new nobility of the reconstruction may rest on possession and use of land.

Advisers of American farmers are counseling them to diversify their products, which inevitably means the substituting of hand-work

for machine-work with such diminished production as that change would bring to any other industry. Farmers are urged to supply more of their home and farm needs from the farm; the suggestion is practical and finds response. The farm that buys little has little to sell, for labor is the limiting factor, and time given to incidentals is taken from staple products for which the farm is better adapted and equipped. Nevertheless, this is the way European farmers are taking, the ancient way to permanence and stability. It has proved remedial of excessive leisure, production, and population. But wooden shoes are not acceptable to American farm boys; and their inspiration is now not Boone or Lincoln but Henry Ford.

The farmer, it is said, must solve his own problems. They are complex and he is isolated; like the cotton-field Negro, he solves them by moving; his preliminary efforts in politics are negligible. Bread from American wheat costs about twice as much in America as in England. When the supply of wheat becomes inadequate, as the supply of cotton, the farmer's problems will concern others who will consider the possibility of restoring farming without increasing the cost of bread. The Negro illustrates that farming is not easily restored; civilizations have found that the process takes longer than they can wait. Economists and sociologists in agricultural colleges might give timely help if trustees were eliminated; but trustees are there to see that they do not give it. Farm papers might help, but it would not be good business. Manifestly country life might have the economic basis that it lacks, and manifestly farm neighborhoods need not be rural slums. Great things in small communities are possible; Plato thought Athens too big, and it was.

19. URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION: 1890-1920¹



¹ From Census Monograph No. 1: *Increase of Population in the United States, 1910-20*, page 73. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.; 1922.

20. THE CHILD CROP¹

There is a human factor in the farm problem which may transcend the bare price problem. How would the list of cities in the United States which range from 2500 to 100,000 population — a list that totals about thirty millions of people — like to undertake to school and educate an extra 4,000,000 children, to say nothing about nursing, feeding, clothing, housing them? How would they like this extra job, while 4,000,000 of their adults were away, — withdrawn, let us say, for a thirty-year furlough from city life? How would they like to see these children, when once educated and ready for careers, invariably leave and go to the cities of the next higher grade?

The number of children in the farm population in comparison with the number of children in the urban or city population was brought into the clear for the first time in the 1920 Census Report. For the whole United States, 19 per cent of the urban population are under 10 years of age; while 25.7 per cent of the farm population are under 10. Likewise 18.5 per cent of the urban population are from 10 to 20 years of age; while 24.7 per cent of the farm population are from 10 to 20. That is, the number of farm children under 10 exceeds the number of city children under 10 by 6.7 per cent and the farm children from 10 to 20 exceed the city children from 10 to 20 by 6.2 per cent. This makes a total excess of 12.9 per cent of children under 21 years of age among the farm population. It turns out, moreover, that only 49.5 per cent of the farm population are 21 years of age and over; while 62.5 per cent of the urban population are 21 years of age and over. That is, the city has an excess over the farm of 13 per cent of adults, to offset the farm's 12.9 per cent excess of children.

The significance of this discovery becomes more apparent when we turn our per cent figures into actual numbers. For this purpose we may compare the whole farm population, 31,614,269, with an equivalent number of urban population. It appears that in round numbers, the farm families of America have 4,000,000 more children

¹ From C. J. Galpin, of the United States Department of Agriculture, in *The Survey*, Vol. 52, page 224 (May 15, 1924). Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

under 21 years than city families; while the farm families have 4,000,000 fewer adults than the city families of an equal total number of persons. These 4,000,000 children in excess, which the farmers of America are carrying along for final city enrichment, comprise as many persons as a small nation; almost as many as the population of Ireland; more than that of Switzerland; more than Chile; more than Denmark; many more than Norway.

When we remember that the 2,000,000 children under 10 are non-producers and the 2,000,000 children from 10 to 20 are only partial producers, while the 4,000,000 excess of adults in cities are in the producing class, we see that the farm people with 4,000,000 fewer producers are feeding, clothing, rearing, and educating 4,000,000 more children than the city people of an equal total population. The anomalous character of this fact is enhanced when it appears, as is undoubtedly the case, that in a constant stream this excess of children is flowing to the city ready-bred, ready-educated, ready-equipped as producers.

21. FOLK DEPLETION AS A CAUSE OF RURAL DECLINE¹

The striking thing I found in these counties (in northern New England, 1911) was the opinion generally held by thoughtful people that *the community is not up to its former standard*. Whether this is the case or not, the fact that those in the best position to know *think so* is worthy of serious attention.

There is complaint that the young people lack "ginger." A leader in boys' work said that his lads cannot be persuaded to go on a "hike" to mountain or lake on Saturday afternoon in order to camp there overnight. The prospect of a nine-mile walk "scared them out." Twenty might promise, but scarcely half a dozen would show up at the rendezvous. If a "rig" were provided, all were glad to go. The boys in the larger centers were said to be more active in disposition. In the small villages there sometimes is no response to the "Boy Scout" program. A hotel proprietor noticed that, whereas in his youth every boy had some work to do and did it,

¹ From Edward Alsworth Ross, "Folk Depletion as a Cause of Rural Decline," in *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. XI (March, 1917). Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

now many boys between fifteen and eighteen are irresponsible and worthless, and their parents support them in idleness. The more spirited and ambitious boys keep going away, so that those who remain are rather apathetic. He remarked that the feeling of the young fellows about their baseball games with other towns does not run as high as it did in his boyhood. Some school principals observe that during recess their pupils are content to stand about and talk, chaff, and play tricks on one another instead of taking part in active games. In high school the boys show very little interest in their baseball team and when a match game with another school comes off not over half the boys and one-fifth the girls attend. Few will pay ten cents a month to support their athletic league, although they spend their money freely enough on motion-picture shows.

In a river community in which motor boating is very popular, it has been found impossible to interest the young people in water sports. Their one stimulus to sustained physical exertion is dancing.

A certain Y. M. C. A. secretary said that the boys he works among display normal physical energy, but that the young men over eighteen are noticeably sluggish, owing to the fact that before the age of eighteen most of the more energetic have gone away to the cities. There was much complaint that lads quit school as soon as the law allows, and then, in spite of parental entreaties, loaf about town and go to the bad.

LACK OF INITIATIVE IN YOUNG PEOPLE

I was astonished to learn that quite often it is necessary to *show the school children how to play*. School men hailing from other states were puzzled by this strange juvenile apathy. Left to themselves, the children stand about, scuffle, or play practical jokes on one another. In some cases, when shown how to play regular games, they respond eagerly and idolize the teacher who has shown them how to play. Clergymen find that if they can get a group of boys to take "hikes" in summer, skate in winter, and engage in regular sports, many of them will eventually become interested in religion and education. The usual complaint is that the young people are not interested in *anything* worth while, but that they play cards, dance, visit motion-picture shows, and run the streets. School

principals say that it is very hard to get work out of pupils, that they have to amuse the pupils in order to get along with them. From their elders they inherit the tradition that the school is a place for fun and that the teacher is their natural enemy, to be foiled if possible. Among the pupils of the high school the corporate spirit is said to be weak. The singing school, debating societies, and lyceums which, two generations ago, played so great a part in the life of the rural young people are no longer heard of. The only collective recreation the young people organize is the dance.

There is general complaint that the rising generation is frivolous, and indifferent to all higher things. "Not a particle of zeal or ambition among the young people either in village or country districts," says a county Y. M. C. A. secretary of wide knowledge. "Those in the church won't do a thing for its institutional life," says a clergyman. "No bottom; nothing to build on," comments a religious worker. A professor in a certain college had been struck by the absence of social enthusiasms among the students. In the entire three hundred there was not one to whom the leadership of a boys' club could be intrusted. Only the "sissy" type of young man offered himself for social service.

PARENTAL INDIFFERENCE

Lament over the inattention or indifference of parents to the morals of their children was universal among those I met. A state Y. M. C. A. officer said to me that among the hundreds of boys in his boys' clubs he had found but two who had been instructed by their parents in matters of sex. In some parts most parents give their daughters no instruction in sex, with the result that the girls may go wrong without the slightest knowledge of the possible consequences. It is said that parents don't pretend to know where their sons and daughters are in the evenings and don't care. They are ignorant of the evil effects of premature sex life, and have no concern about the conduct of their young people.

CHURCH INERTIA

The clergymen are often alive to the situation and wish to socialize the work of the church so as to make it a positive influence in the

lives of the young people, but their deacons and trustees will not allow the building to be used for anything but worship. As a consequence the church is declining in attendance and support and in some communities has come to be a negligible factor. I was told that in the open country people never think of going to church, and many youths have never seen the inside of a sacred edifice.

THE INTERPRETATION

Some of my informants offered no explanation of these bad tendencies. Some look upon them as the trend of the age, and imagine that the whole American people is going to the dogs. Others think that people about them have degenerated. The explanation which occurred to me, because the phenomena I noticed do not differ essentially from what may be observed in certain rural parts of a dozen older states, I laid before at least a score of intelligent persons and not one disputed its plausibility.

It seems to me that the root of the trouble is not *folk degeneration* but *folk depletion*. Certain of the counties visited had more rural population eighty years ago than they have today. For three, even four, generations the hemorrhage has been going on. If the emigration to the cities and to the West had carried away just average persons, it could not affect the characteristics of the people; but if those who left were unusual in respect to some native quality, then their leaving would impoverish the people in respect to this quality.

Perhaps the trait most distinctive of those who cut their moorings in order to follow the call of distant opportunity is the *spirit of initiative*. They have it in them to *make a start*, in spite of home ties, the bonds of habit, and the restraints of prudence. Had they not emigrated, their spirit of initiative would have shown itself along other lines. They would have been among the first in the community to change their method of farming, to introduce some new crop, to embark in an untried industry, or to promote some community enterprise. A heavy outflow of this element need not leave the community poorer in physique, or brains, or character, but it does leave it poorer in natural leaders.

This is serious, because natural leaders are of the utmost value

to society. Not only is it they who launch improvements, but they perform a peculiar service in keeping up to the mark the various institutions which minister to the higher life of the community. The bulk of the people are unable to start or direct those institutions, although they appreciate and support them when once they exist. Often have I seen a depressing slump in the religious, social, and recreative life of a neighborhood, following the moving away of two or three families of initiative. Usually those who insist upon and know how to get good schools, vigorous churches, and abundant means for social enjoyment, are a minority, often a very small minority. My own observation is that frequently the loss of even the best tenth will cut down by 50 per cent the effective support the community gives to higher interests.

The continual departure of young people who would in time have become leaders results eventually in a visible moral decline of the community. The roads are neglected, which means less social intercourse and a smaller turnout to school and church and public events. School buildings and grounds deteriorate, and the false idea takes root that it pays to hire the cheaper teacher. The church gets into a rut, fails to start up the social and recreative activities which bind the young people to it, and presently ceases to be a force. Frivolity engrosses the young because no one organizes singing schools, literary societies, or debating clubs. Presently a generation has grown up that has missed the uplifting and refining influence of these communal institutions. There is a marked decline in standards of individual and family morality. Many couples become too self-centered to be willing to rear children. It is noticed that people are not up to the level of their forefathers, that they are coarser in their tastes and care less for higher things. Vice and sensuality are not so restrained as of yore. The false opinion goes abroad that the community is "degenerate" and therefore past redemption.

All this may result from the continual abstraction from a normal population of too many of that handful of born leaders which is needed to leaven the social lump.

If this widespread moral sag betokened a degeneration of the people, what an appalling prospect would lie before us! But, as

I see it, only rarely is degeneration present. The bulk of the people in these rural counties are essentially like the bulk of Americans of the same stock in any other part of the country. They are normal, not subnormal. Their engrossment in business and pleasure, their indifference to cultural and spiritual interests, their lack of public spirit, are precisely what you would find in most other communities but for the presence of a certain small minority who set strict standards of private conduct, family life, and child upbringing, and persuade the majority that looser standards and practices are "low." It is these who take the lead in communal undertakings, better roads, schools, churches, and organized school life. The children of the rest are enlightened and refined by the influences radiating from such agencies and thus the moral plane of the community rises from generation to generation.

22. THE RURAL SOCIAL MIND¹

. . . There may be found certain characteristics which have distinguished the rural community from the urban and which will, in part at least, continue to make the open-country attitude toward life different from that of the urban group.

Among the conditions determining what shall be the habitual reactions of a given group are:

1. *The density of population.* . . . The isolation of the open-country home in pioneer life tended to develop individual independence, personal resourcefulness, initiative, together with an apparent conservatism due to lack of contacts through which the forces of imitation might operate. This conservatism has resulted in the survival into modern life of groups now considered as stagnant and backward.

2. *The source of population.* Certain parts of the Central Valley which were settled largely from the New England states present an almost ascetic attitude toward recreational life and an emphasis upon the value of work which has led to pathological results in the shift of population and in the barrenness of country social life as

¹ From P. L. Vogt, *Introduction to Rural Sociology*, pages 184-193. D. Appleton & Co., New York; 1917. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

compared with the urban social organization. Other communities which received a mixture of Northern and Southern population have passed through a period of shifting policies in which at one time one social ideal was dominant and at another time the ideals of another group gained control. . . .

3. *The nature of the business.* The farmer belongs to the economic group known as enterprisers and because of that fact has been responsible for planning his own business and for taking the risks for success or failure. . . . The development of habits of working alone has made him suspicious of coöperating with his fellows except in case of manifest need. . . .

4. *The farmer's dependence on nature* has been said to have had some effect on his habitual reactions. . . . The predominance of man's contacts with nature as compared with his contacts with his fellow beings . . . has attracted to the country those who love to deal with material forces and has driven from the country those who are more interested in dealing with the spiritual or psychical forces operating in social life. Those who love to dominate nature are more attracted to the country; those who love to control the conduct of their fellow creatures have been attracted to the professions of urban life.

5. *The character of the home life* of the open country has had its influence upon the social mind. . . . The intimate connection of every member of the family with the work of the farm also leads to discussion as to farm practices and policies and this tends to early maturity of judgment and strong self-reliance.

6. *The monotony of many kinds of farm work* is thought to have a definite effect on the reactions of the farmer and on his mental content. As the long day passes by and the farmer turns round after round of the plowed ground, follows the harrow or rides on the roller or cultivator, there is a large opportunity for thought. There is reason to believe, however, that instead of passing the time in deep thought the farmer does a great deal of ineffective "wool-gathering" which lessens his powers of concentration and continued thought rather than increases it. . . . This characteristic of rural occupation is perhaps less serious than that of urban occupations, whereby through a refinement of processes the individual is reduced

to a machine, performing day after day and week after week, the same identical little mechanical service. The farmer has the advantage in the change from one kind of work to another. . . . It is this variation of occupation that makes farm work attractive to many people, and its effect on the mentality of the individual must counteract in great measure the monotony of any particular seasonal occupation.

7. The isolation of the open country has tended to develop a type of people who do not care for the attractions of the restless, noisy, urgent life of the city. . . .

8. On the other hand, the city has taken from the country those who are socially minded. . . . Those who like to influence others, to act with others and to dominate political and social situations, have sought their life work in the places where men congregate. This difference in type of rural and urban life has tended to differentiate rural and urban population into social and unsocial groups.

Owing to the lack of social relationships the farmer is likely to be more sensitive than the person living in the city. His experiences are fewer and consequently he is more self-conscious as he comes in contact with others. He is more easily offended and remembers supposed slights longer than the urbanized individual who is too busy to notice many things that the countryman would take very much to heart.

Owing to the lack of social activities to enable the farmer to give exercise to his affective nature, he is apt to give more sway to his feelings in a public meeting than is the town man. It is in the open country rather than in the city that the emotional expression of religious sentiment is most marked. In public meetings in rural communities seriousness and earnestness of purpose characterize public discussion. The public speaker who is most successful is the one who can use concrete illustrations and who has force in address rather than logic. The one who reads from manuscript is not well received, while in the city the reverse is the case. Lack of contact with others in public meetings is likely to result in less logical processes of thought and more emotionalism in debate than in the urban community.

The countryman is likely to be slower in his mental processes than the city man. Quickness of decision is not necessary on so many occasions as is the case in the urban community, and the farmer lacks the personal contact with his fellows which tends to develop quickness of thought.

On the other hand, the farmer is thought to be more thorough in his thought than the town man. He has time to reflect, and when the necessity for reflection comes he appears to have the power of weighing matters more carefully than the town man. . . .

The farmer appears to have more conservatism than the town man. It is the country which is the mainstay of the established order. The city is swayed more by the fads and fancies of the time. It presents less stability, less continuity of policy, than the open country. Its movements are in large part based on the greater prevalence of the mob mind due to close proximity and to more uniform stimulation of thought on a given topic in a given time. All read the morning newspaper and are swayed in the same way, provided there are not differences in class interest to move them in opposite directions. The stimuli do not reach the farmers as soon, nor do they work themselves out as quickly. On the other hand, the farmer, owing to lack of development of inhibitive powers, is likely to yield more quickly to sudden stimuli. If a project is presented in a brilliant manner and if the emotions are aroused, projects may be put across which, if held over until the next day, could not be attained. . . . In business matters, because of their lack of understanding of business methods, they are likely to be suspicious of practices that would go without question among business men in the city. . . . The farmer has less respect for conventionalities than has the town man. In many sections of the country even yet the farmer is inclined to look upon the well-dressed city man as "stuck up" and to consider him as more or less of a "dude." The farmer insists on personal worth rather than dress as the measure of the man. . . .

There is no doubt that the changes taking place in the country are tending in many respects to urbanize the rural districts and to bring the conventions and class distinctions of the two into harmony.

23. THE NEED OF TRAINED RURAL LEADERS¹

Rural life in America has suffered for lack of leadership. It would be untruthful to say that the farmers have produced no leaders. No one can read the history of the Grange and similar organizations without being impressed with the marvelous potential leadership that exists among our rural people. Yet the reading of the same history convinces us that there has been a lack of that type of leadership which has seen things in the largest way, and which has been able to weld the diverse interests that exist among the farmers into the largest possible movement for their own development. Today we see coming on a group of new leaders. They are coming from the agricultural colleges, from the churches, from the cities. They are active and ambitious.

The need is not merely for leadership, but for the right sort of leadership, and for trained leadership. When we say "trained leadership," we do not mean necessarily men and women who have the degree of doctor of philosophy. The kernel of training for rural leadership during the next few years does not lie in the quantity of training, but in its point of view. What should be this point of view? What is the philosophy of rural life progress? There are a few principles that are indispensable, and any movement built on any other foundation is being constructed on the flowing sands.

1. The rural life problem is one problem. It has several aspects. Our country life must be based on a prosperous industry. That industry should not only be profitable but those who follow it should succeed in conserving agricultural resources. In order to be prosperous the farmers must be able to dispose of their products under favorable conditions, as well as to grow them with the greatest efficiency. Our rural life must be satisfying socially. Isolation should be minimized; recreation should be magnified. Our country life must be satisfying from the moral and spiritual point of view. It should be a good place in which to bring up boys and girls. The farmer should be conscious of his constant partnership with the Almighty in the feeding of the nations and in the bringing in of the

¹ From Kenyon L. Butterfield, "The Training of Rural Leaders," in *The Survey*, Vol. 33, page 13 (October 3, 1914). Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

Kingdom. But after all, the big problem is to insure an agricultural group, strong, successful, reliant, prosperous, living a full life, participating in national affairs, the nursery of great men and women.

2. In order to secure the greatest progress in all parts of our country, rural life must be thoroughly organized. All the resources of modern civilization should be placed at the disposal of the countryman. The most expert aid with respect to health, education, recreation, as well as in the growing and disposal of crops, should be offered to the farmer. If the farm problem be a unit, the forces of progress must be a unit. This means the complete organization of American agriculture and country life.

3. It is equally imperative, however, that the process of rural improvement shall be one, not of the imposition of city ideas upon the farm people, but of the development of the people themselves chiefly through their own initiative. This means the development of the community sense, of the community plan and program. It means that, while in many regions a demonstration of improved agriculture and rural life is the only method of arousing the people, when once aroused, the key to progress is self-development, stimulated and aided to some degree by extraneous agencies but always self-development.

Hence, we need a new group of leaders, men and women who see the vision of a new country life, who understand the need of a complete organization of the forces of rural progress, but who, at the same time, appreciate the fact that the work is to be done by the farmers themselves in their own communities, on behalf of the common interest of all.

QUESTIONS

1. Enumerate the causes for the migration cityward. Which one do you consider the most important?
2. How did the life of a grandfather born in 1832 differ from that of his son born in 1862? from that of his grandson born in 1892?
3. Why are farmers, once known as conservative, now known as radical?
4. Give reasons why the "old" and the "young" are found in excess on the farms. What is the significance of this fact?
5. Show how the continual abstraction from a normal population of too many of the born leaders will cause the young people to lack "ginger."
6. In what ways does the rural social mind differ from the urban?
7. What point of view should the rural leaders assume toward the country?

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SPREAD OF THE MACHINE PROCESS

24. THE RISE OF MACHINE INDUSTRY¹

Every one is so accustomed to using factory-made articles that a handmade article is regarded as a kind of luxury. Handmade furniture or shoes or knitted garments are advertised more or less as novelties. All this is very modern. Not many generations back homespun clothes and handmade furniture were all that people knew.

The change from the simple life of hand industry and home industry to the modern way of living was very rapid, when once the success of power machinery was discovered. In less than 200 years the mode of life in the western world has been transformed.

THE DOMESTIC SYSTEM OF INDUSTRY

We get our best example of the advent of the machine from the history of England, the country which led all others in the introduction of the factory system. Before the time of the industrial revolution, which for convenience may be said to have begun in 1750, the greater part of the manufacturing in England was carried on under what is known as the "domestic system." In this domestic system artisans made goods in their own houses or in sheds attached to their homes. The work was done by members of the family, assisted sometimes by one or more apprentices — boys who were learning the trade.

Many of the artisans lived and worked in little country villages. Some lived in the suburbs of large towns; others in cottages a long way from any neighbors. Whether a workman lived in a suburb, a town, or in the country, he generally had possession of some land that he could till, and he often gave as much time to farming as to manufacturing.

¹ From Leverett S. Lyon, "The Rise of Machine Industry." Lesson A-8 in *Lessons in Community and National Life*, Series A, prepared under the direction of Charles H. Judd and Leon C. Marshall. United States Bureau of Education, in cooperation with United States Food Administration, Washington, D. C.

THE DOMESTIC SYSTEM MEANT TOOL INDUSTRY

The processes and implements used by these manufacturers were very simple and inexpensive, and the implements were almost always owned by the artisan. Iron was smelted in small furnaces which were heated by burning charcoal. The draft of air for the furnaces was furnished by large handmade bellows operated by men or by oxen.

Nails were made from iron rods which had been forged in small blacksmith shops. They were hammered out by hand on anvils and cut to proper length with chisels. Soap was produced by boiling together in a small kettle wood ash and sheep's tallow or other fat. Wood was used as a fuel, and the materials used were stirred and mixed with a hand ladle.

THE CLOTHIER

Under this domestic system there was, of course, organization of the various steps in getting goods into the possession of consumers. At times it was a very simple plan by which the tradesman personally owned the raw material and tools and product and sold the product to customers who came to his shop, or sold it at the town market. The more typical arrangement, however, was that which is exhibited by the case of the so-called clothier. He bought wool from the wool grower, or from wool merchants, and delivered it at short intervals to the scattered spinners whom he paid for working it into yarn. The yarn made by the spinner belonged to the clothier. After getting it from the spinner he carried it to the weaver, whom he paid for making it into cloth. In a similar way this cloth was then carried through the remaining steps, such as milling, dyeing, shearing, and dressing. Under this arrangement the clothier owned the raw material used in every step of manufacture. He hired the services of the various artisans, who owned their tools and workshops. These artisans thus fixed for themselves the number of hours they worked, the intensity with which they toiled, and the methods they used in production. In other words, they made most of their "conditions of work" for themselves.

The cloth which was made in this way was the property of the clothier. He sold it either to cloth merchants or to customers

at markets or fairs. These clothiers were very useful members of the industrial society in which they lived. One writer has said of the clothier that he "occupied a very responsible and prominent place in the local community. He was the moneyed man, the paymaster, and the employer of the whole vicinity. The neighborhood's activity and prosperity rested in his hands."

LARGE MARKETS DEMAND MORE EFFICIENT PRODUCTION

Under the most favorable conditions the production of cloth by such a method was slow. In the England of 1750 the market had grown very large and the scattered small shops could not produce goods fast enough to meet the demand. For 250 years forces had been at work making England's markets larger and larger. Some of these forces worked within England itself and caused the English people to know more about one another and to be more willing and able to trade with one another. Other forces operated to extend England's trade relations with the outside world. The great geographical explorations and discoveries of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries had been followed by a period of formation of colonies by the leading European countries and by the organization of great trading companies. England's share in all these operations was a large one, and English goods were in wide demand. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that men began to cast about to find more efficient methods of manufacture than the methods which existed under the domestic system.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The way out of the difficulty was not found by any slight modification of existing methods. Beginning about 1750, there came great changes in the industries of England. These changes were so marked, occurred in so many industries, and took place so rapidly that together they are often spoken of as the industrial revolution. It would be impossible for us to follow the changes in every industry, nor is it necessary that we should. By taking note of the changes in the manufacture of cotton cloth, we can get an understanding of what was occurring throughout all industry.

HOW COTTON CLOTH WAS MADE BEFORE THE INDUSTRIAL
REVOLUTION

The process followed before the industrial revolution may be described as follows: The raw material for making cotton cloth was the tangled mass of cotton fibers which came directly from the fields. The only work which had been done on it was the laborious work of picking out the seeds by hand. The first step taken toward making cloth was to straighten out the fibers so that they lay parallel. This was accomplished by "carding," or brushing and combing the fibers by hand with stiff brushes called "cards." The next step was "spinning," the process of drawing out the parallel fibers into a loose slender string and twisting them at the same time so that the fibers adhered to one another and formed a cord or thread. The spinning was done with simple hand or foot-power spinning wheels, in the operation of which the fibers were drawn out by hand and twisted by a whirling device called a "flyer." When the fiber had been thus spun into thread, the process of weaving remained to be done. This work was performed on hand looms. The "warp" threads were first stretched across a wooden frame, and by means of a large wooden needle which was called a "shuttle," the "woof" threads were woven horizontally across them. After the cloth was woven it was often bleached by a slow process, and if a figured cloth like calico was desired, the color was stamped on with hand dies.

SPINNING INVENTIONS

All of this work was slow and tedious, but it was spinning that required most time. One rapid weaver could use the yarn or thread supplied by six spinners. In 1738 an invention called the "flying shuttle" increased the speed with which weavers could work and made men who were interested in cloth manufacturing still more anxious to improve the methods of spinning.

In 1764 one of the small manufacturers of England, James Hargreaves, a master weaver, invented a machine with which one man could spin eight threads at the same time. In honor of his wife, Hargreaves called this machine the "spinning jenny." Other workmen soon made such improvements that jennies spinning thirty

threads at a time came into use. Finally, Samuel Crompton, another weaver, combined the good qualities of all the earlier machines and made a machine called the "spinning mule." It spun a finer cotton thread than could be spun by the old spinning wheel and made possible the manufacture of muslin cloth.

OTHER CLOTH-MAKING INVENTIONS

These great advances in spinning methods stimulated invention in other processes of cloth manufacturing. A machine for carding came into use; a "printing cylinder" was invented with which calico could be stamped a hundred times faster than before; the use of chemicals replaced the old methods of dyeing cloth; weaving was greatly facilitated by the invention in 1785 of a loom operated by water power or steam which could weave cloth at a speed unthought of before. Finally, in 1792, Eli Whitney, an American, invented the cotton gin. Before the invention of the gin one man working with hand tools could remove the seeds from four or five pounds of cotton in a day. With the new machine one man could clean 1000 pounds of cotton in a day. This invention made it certain that the new machinery of the cloth manufacturers would be supplied with raw material.

CORRESPONDING CHANGES OCCURRED IN OTHER INDUSTRIES

The new machines appeared in rapid succession and changed the whole industry and also the mode of life of the people. What happened in the cotton industry happened also in the other textile industries. Corresponding changes were occurring at about the same time in other branches of industry. The most striking and important of these occurred in the iron trade. Some of the important discoveries were how to use coke instead of charcoal; Cort's invention for puddling and rolling; how to use a hot blast in smelting; and how to use raw coal instead of coke. Such discoveries revolutionized and greatly cheapened the production of bar iron. Since iron is really the foundation of all machine industry, the significance of these facts can hardly be overestimated. They meant a plentiful and cheap supply of the material which was essential to any considerable supply of steam engines, railroads, and the giant machines which make other machines.

SIMPLE PROCESSES YIELD TO COMPLEX PROCESSES

The simple processes of the period of domestic industry have yielded to machine processes. Only here and there and on a very small scale do the earlier methods survive. The kettle of the soap boiler has given way to a long chemical process. The anvil and chisel of the nail maker have been replaced by steel mills. The village potter has found that the pottery factories have made work with hand tools unprofitable. So thoroughly have machine industry and machine methods come into our whole life — into its manufacture, its marketing, its methods of communication, and even its amusements — that we sometimes call this “the machine age.”

We shall be greatly in error if we think that the industrial revolution is a thing of the past. It is still going on. Its first phase lasted until about 1830, and may be characterized as the period of the coming in of machinery. From 1850 to 1880 was a period of building great machine shops to build machinery. Since 1880 the applications of science to industry and the search for markets have led writers to speak of our period as the third period of the industrial revolution — the period of scientific management and of revolution in buying and selling methods.

SOME CHANGES WROUGHT BY MACHINE INDUSTRY

It is easy for us to see that the introduction of machinery would very greatly increase the quantity of useful goods and would greatly change the ways in which they are made and marketed. Let us notice the great differences in the management of industry brought about by machine industry. Machinery was too expensive for the artisan to buy and too large and too dependent upon non-human power for the artisan to be able to operate it in his home or little workshop. It had to be located where water power or steam power developed by coal was available. Since power could be produced more cheaply in large quantities than in small quantities, the development of machinery meant housing industry in the large buildings which we call factories. There, under one roof, with regular hours of work determined by their employers, with the machinery owned by the employers, with the conditions of work largely de-

terminated by the employers, most of the former artisans, and often their wives and children, were collected to become factory hands or mill workers. This resulted in modes of life wholly different from those which existed when the clothier carried on the textile industry.

THE SPREAD OF MACHINE INDUSTRY

From England the new machine industry spread to other countries. In America, Belgium, Holland, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Austria, and Japan, goods of all sorts are now made chiefly in factories and by machine methods. These nations are now what England alone was at one time — “workshop of the world.” It is clear enough that this has meant a very great change in the way in which all the civilized peoples of the world live.

THE HUNGER FOR MARKETS

The factory system manufactures goods so rapidly that of late years the countries which have been most successful in large-scale manufacturing, such as England, Germany, and the United States, have found it difficult to sell all the goods that they make. This difficulty has led to many interesting developments. For one thing, it is in the past generation that advertising has come to play such a prominent part in our industrial life. Advertising was known hundreds of years ago. It has been only under the modern pressure for markets that it has become more or less of an institution. So, also, great emphasis is now placed on other matters connected with salesmanship. Business houses conduct schools of salesmanship for their employees. Colleges of commerce are established in the universities the country over. Still another consequence is seen in the giant combinations of business, called “trusts,” which have been formed largely to reduce competition for markets. Finally, merchants of the various countries have sought outlets for their goods in less-developed regions. They have pushed into foreign lands, have tried to build up colonies, and have built up trade connections.

25. THE IRON MAN IN INDUSTRY¹

THE IRON DUKES

The more monotonous the plain, the more impressive are the peaks. As the development and growing use of machinery reduce, little by little, the play of personality in toil for the masses who work beside it, those who rise above its leveling influences take on increased social significance. As labor becomes more and more impersonal, as labor-time crowds out skill and initiative as the chief economic determinant of the mass, those who can take advantage of this situation to employ or direct large numbers of individuals stand out as marked men. They are the stars of the industrial drama. Upon them the limelight beats; upon them are showered applause and riches in such profusion as to arouse the envy of the chorus. For them, too, are the hisses sometimes heard in the pit, and occasional missiles launched in wrath.

Ability heads toward power. When the big business of the country was the establishing, organizing, and defending of the state, supremely able men turned their talent toward statecraft, just as, in former times and older lands, they went into the church when religion was esteemed the path toward greatest influence. When the political stability of this Republic had been achieved, America's ablest organizers were attracted, naturally, to the prospect of power attainable through exploiting the natural resources of an undeveloped continent. Their imaginations fired, they went overseas for capital, built railroads, razed forests, made goods, and improved methods of marketing. . . .

We see now that men like Stephenson and Hill, Maudsley and McCormick, Bessemer and Carnegie, made something more than money by harnessing natural forces, perfecting machines, and organizing men and capital into effective combinations for laying rails, running trains, fabricating steel, and selling reapers. They pioneered for civilization. . . .

Monotony in labor, then, is the price men pay for living together in order and security — one of the returns that society exacts from

¹ From Arthur Pound, *The Iron Man in Industry*, pages 61-63, 49-55, 61 Atlantic Monthly Press, Boston; 1922. Copyright by The Atlantic Monthly Press. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

the individual in exchange for safety, comfort, and opportunity for advancement within the group. But monotony intensifies labor-strain; and unless the laborer can find release therefrom, through variations of physical and mental effort in the minutiae of the job, his weariness sits upon him like an incubus.

Let him do this thing a little differently from that; let him use what ingenuity he has; and his Ego, somewhat different from all others under the sun, is compensated in a degree for the surrender of his freedom in the larger concerns of group living, which surrender society demands and enforces through law and custom.

But, lacking this compensation of variety of toil, human nature finds the social order oppressive. This seems to me at least as definite a cause of the present resentment against the established order as those more frequently cited; and the situation is not altogether relieved by reflecting that, as long as the instinct toward variation is repressed by the machines themselves, its consequences will continue in some measure as long as machines are operated, no matter whether they are owned by private persons or by the state. . . .

So far as the great majority of the workers are concerned, modern industry presents this phenomenon — the dulling of the mind — on a scale unequaled in extent, and to a degree unequaled in intensity, by anything on record in history. Slavery of the galley was not more uninspiring, *per se*. Military orders may be more imperious than those of industry; but at least the military life provides change of scene and problem from time to time, some release from routine on pay, much companionship, and occasional thrills — all appealing to the common man because they fit in so neatly with the inherited memories lying at the back of his mind. Industrial efficiency calls for the elimination of many of these boons — for close concentration upon the unvarying task, for suppression of variations in toil, for rigid control of the work environment, for elimination of distracting excitements, for subordination of personalities, for the reduction of the common man to the status of automaton. . . .

Neither does the Iron Man get on the nerves of those below the average mentality. He is a consistent friend of the defective. Just as deafness is an advantage in certain industrial occupations,

— our shops employ many mutes with satisfaction both ways, — so mental lacks may become assets for certain industrial purposes. Given enough sense to master simple routine occupations, and enough appreciation of duty, or fear of relatives, to come to the shop regularly, the below-average person can soon be adjusted industrially. And, when adjusted, the moron will be found immune to many of the pricks which irritate the normal man into seeing red, less fretted by monotony, less worn by rhythmic clatter. There is less in his soul striving to release itself; he has brought into the shop comparatively little that the shop cannot use; and so he accepts dumbly his appointed place in the scheme of things industrial, remains unbitten by ambition, and reacts not at all against subordination. . . .

Men who take more to the machines than do the morons are subjected to a rigid selective process by the Iron Man. The law of "use or lose" begins its inexorable operation upon their minds as well as upon their muscles and nerves. Just as muscle or nerve, unused, refuses to yield its utility without a struggle, causing its possessor pain and inconvenience, so those mental qualities unused in toil continue to struggle for existence to the limit of their strength. . . . Sometimes they merely shift from one shop to another; every factory town has its disappointed rainbow chasers, who never stay put, and who never learn that the Iron Man is about the same everywhere. . . .

Because mind must be cured by mind, or stay sick, because human maladjustments yield only to the human touch, the mental phase of the problem of automatization in industry challenges particularly the community and the shop; to them we must look for the chief ameliorating influences which shall permit the common man to withstand, without deterioration of mind, association with the Iron Man. And because the man at the desk moves more swiftly than the folk in the town meeting, the shop may well become the more effective of the two. Once management grasps clearly the situation created by the grinding of the automatic machine upon the mind of the worker, the challenge to proximate service and ultimate interest cannot but inspire the directing intelligences of American industry. Their hegemony, indeed, depends upon their leaping into this breach without delay.

26. WHY WOMEN'S WAGES ARE LOW ¹

1. *Nature of the Problem.* Positions of skill, training, and responsibility are usually held by men, whereas positions requiring speed and a certain amount of dexterity, but not exceptional skill, are generally held by women. Consequently, women suffer not only from inadequate compensation, but also from fatigue and nervous strain. . . .

2. *Inferior Physical Strength.* . . . There are numerous tasks in modern industry for which women are physically unfitted. This tends to overcrowding in those occupations which women can fill, and a consequent depression of the wage scale.

3. *Relative Immobility.* As a rule, women are more settled than men. . . . The fact that women are either not inclined to or cannot move readily from one industry to another and from one locality to another inevitably tends to the acceptance of what would otherwise be unacceptable terms of employment.

4. *The Comparatively Lower Cost of Subsistence.* For the average women the consumption of food is somewhat less than for average men, and they can extend their wages, if necessary, by preparing their meals, making their own clothing, millinery, et cetera. . . .

5. *Dependence upon Other Members of the Family.* Many women and girls are not dependent upon industry for a livelihood, but seek employment a part or all of the time merely for the sake of obtaining spending money. . . .

6. *Indifference to the Acquisition of Adequate Industrial Training and Experience.* It is the experience of employers that the average woman looks forward to marriage, thus interrupting, if not ending, her industrial career. . . .

7. *Lack of Organization.* . . . Generally speaking, the causes of lack of organization are found in (a) women's lack of interest in permanent organization, (b) opposition of employers, and (c) lack of coöperation on the part of male workers. . . .

8. *Greater Cost of Employing Women.* Employers frequently claim that it costs more to employ women than men, on account of

¹ From Gordon Watkins, *An Introduction to the Study of Labor Problems*, pages 155-161. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York; 1922. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

the numerous legal restrictions concerning the employment of female workers. . . .

9. *Lack of Appreciation.* . . . If women do not expect high wages, it is unlikely that they will get them. Added to this self-depreciation is the pronounced tendency on the part of men to underestimate the value of women's services.

10. *Lack of Demand.* "The number of industries that women may enter has been restricted and in consequence all women workers have had to crowd into a comparatively small number of occupations in which there has resulted an oversupply of female labor, with a consequent detrimental effect on remuneration."¹

11. *Tradition.* Custom and tradition have dictated that "woman's place is in the home." . . .

12. *Political Weakness.* Evidence is not lacking that the absence of voting power has been responsible for discrimination in public employment, and for the same reason they have been unable to take their fight for improved conditions of employment to parliamentary bodies. . . . With the present tendency towards universal suffrage, this discrimination will doubtless diminish. . . .

27. "SAFETY FIRST"²

Compensation affords very substantial relief, and its development into greater usefulness is to be continually encouraged. To come to the workman or his family with support when earning capacity is destroyed or impaired is of value immeasurable.

But how much more important than financial relief when industrial accident shall have done its cruel work is industrial consideration which prevents the compensable injury. It is gratifying to observe the splendid results which many of the larger industries are reporting from the development of measures which substantially reduce the number of deaths and disabling injuries. They study and adopt new safety devices. Schools of instruction are held among workmen to promote interest in measures of precaution. In

¹ *Report of the British War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry*, page 72; 1919.

² From the *Report of the Industrial Commission*, pages 12-14 (for Biennial Period Ending June 30, 1924). Published by the State of Iowa; 1924.

these large plants workmen are organizing to coöperate with such movements and make every possible contribution to safety endeavors. Competition in the several departments tends to reduce the number of injuries.

The Joliet plant of the United States Steel Corporation, with about 4000 employees, operated ninety-five days without a single "lost time" accident, the result of years of safety educational work. In the past eleven years fatal and disabling accidents were reduced by the several plants of the corporation to 70.21 per cent.

The Illinois Steel Company reports that during the entire month of March, 1924, no man lost a minute's time on account of accident. The report covers 11,989 employees.

In the great cement works of the country, perhaps the most progressive record has been made on the part of the employers and employees and with results exceedingly conspicuous.

The Lehigh Portland Cement Company, operating many plants in various states, including one at Mason City, has kept us advised as to methods employed and results obtained. In a report before us figures denoting wonderful evidence along safety lines appear. It is shown that in days lost per 100,000 man hours, the record for four years is as follows:

1919	82.3
1920	55.4
1921	43.7
1922	25.7

As this report is developing comes a statement showing that during the month of June, 1924, at nineteen Lehigh plants only a single accident occurred and only three days of time were lost.

Some months ago this striking statement of experience on the part of another great cement company was reported in *Safety Engineering*:

The Alpha Portland Cement Company operated eight plants in 1922, working a total of almost five million man hours, without a fatal accident. The record of 87 cement plants in the United States and Canada shows that in 1921 one fatality for every 1.4 million man hours occurred. The Alpha record for 1921 was five deaths and one permanent total disability.

In 1914, when the safety committee was first organized, at the five plants belonging to the organization ten men were fatally injured in nine separate

accidents. From 1911 to 1916 thirty-one men were killed, while from 1917 to 1922, inclusive, only nine men were killed. This improvement is principally due to the workmen giving more thought to their personal safety, and to the good work of the Plant Safety Committees.

In the *World's Work*, Floyd W. Parsons submits wonderful figures and interesting conclusions. "The average person," he says, "holds the idea that war is the largest destroyer of human life. As a matter of fact, our participation in the World War resulted in snuffing out the lives of only 50,150 soldiers. During the same period 126,000 men, women, and children engaged in normal pursuits met their deaths from accidents, most of which could have been prevented." He finds that nine persons meet death through accident in America every hour of the day and night, and workers to the number of 900,000 are each year maimed for life, or lose more than a month of time.

Mr. Parsons refers to an industry employing 50,000 men and women in which endeavor along the line of safety provisions reduced the number of fatal accidents to a single workman during an entire year of operation. The writer makes the further statement that fatal accidents have been reduced fifty-five per cent; accidents resulting in loss of eyes, seventy per cent; accidents resulting in loss of legs, fifty per cent; accidents causing loss of feet, fifty per cent; accidents causing loss of hands, one hundred per cent, or a general reduction of all cases seventy-one per cent. The company's compensation costs have shown a reduction of nearly twenty-five per cent, and the production records indicate plainly that safety materially speeds up industrial output.

It is conclusively shown that these safety campaigns are not only humane and profitable to the workman, but that they bring big financial returns to the employer. Compensation payment is substantially reduced. The increase in efficiency and production is substantially increased. The work record is much improved, not only as to number of hours saved to service, but through the increased interest and efficiency on the part of the employee. A great industrial leader has well said, "Accident prevention is not only good morals and good ethics, but also good business."

28. WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAW¹

Extracts from the Code of Iowa, 1924

Section 1361. *To whom not applicable.* This chapter shall not apply to:

1. Any household or domestic servant.

2. Persons whose employment is of a casual nature.

3. Persons engaged in agriculture, in so far as injuries shall be incurred by employees while engaged in agricultural pursuits or any operations immediately connected therewith, whether on or off the premises of the employer.

4. As between a municipal corporation, city, or town, and any person or persons receiving any benefits under, or who may be entitled to benefits from, any "firemen's pension fund" or "police-men's pension fund" of any municipal corporation, city, or town, except as otherwise provided by law.

Sec. 1376. *Willful injury — intoxication.* No compensation under this chapter shall be allowed for an injury caused:

1. By the employee's willful intent to injure himself or to willfully injure another.

2. When intoxication of the employee was the proximate cause of the injury.

Sec. 1379. *Negligence presumed — burden of proof.* In actions by an employee against an employer for personal injury sustained, arising out of and in the course of the employment, when the employer has rejected the provisions of this chapter, the following provisions shall apply:

1. It shall be presumed:

a. That the injury to the employee was the direct result and growing out of the negligence of the employer.

b. That such negligence was the proximate cause of the injury.

2. In such cases the burden of proof shall rest upon the employer to rebut the presumption of negligence.

¹ From *The Workmen's Compensation Law*. State of Iowa; 1924.

Sec. 1392. *Death cases — dependents.*

1. When death results from the injury, the employer shall pay the dependents who were wholly dependent on the earnings of the employee for support at the time of his injury, the weekly compensation for a period of three hundred weeks from the date of his injury.

2. When the injury causes the death of a minor employee whose earnings were received by the parent, the compensation to be paid such parent shall be two-thirds the weekly compensation for an adult with like earnings.

3. If the employee leaves dependents only partially dependent upon his earnings for support at the time of the injury, the weekly compensation to be paid as aforesaid shall be equal to the same proportion of the weekly payments for the benefit of persons wholly dependent as the amount contributed by the employee to such partial dependents bears to the annual earnings of the deceased at the time of the injury.

4. When weekly compensation has been paid to an injured employee prior to his death, the compensation to dependents shall run from the date to which compensation was fully paid to such employee, but shall not continue for more than three hundred weeks from the date of the injury.

Sec. 1393. *When compensation begins — periodical increase.* Except as to injuries resulting in permanent partial disability, compensation shall begin on the fifteenth day of disability after the injury.

Sec. 1394. *Temporary disability.* For injury producing temporary disability, and beginning on the fifteenth day thereof, the employer shall pay the weekly compensation during the period of such disability, but not exceeding three hundred weeks, including the periodical increase in cases to which the preceding section applies.

Sec. 1396. *Permanent partial disabilities.* Compensation for permanent partial disability shall begin at the date of injury and shall be based upon the extent of such disability, and for all cases of permanent partial disability included in the following schedule compensation shall be paid as follows:

1. For the loss of a thumb, weekly compensation during forty weeks.
2. For the loss of a first finger, commonly called the index finger, weekly compensation during thirty weeks.
3. For the loss of a second finger, weekly compensation during twenty-five weeks.
4. For the loss of a third finger, weekly compensation during twenty weeks.
5. For the loss of a fourth finger, commonly called the little finger, weekly compensation during fifteen weeks.
6. The loss of the first or distal phalange of the thumb or of any finger shall equal the loss of one-half of such thumb or finger and compensation shall be one-half of the time for the loss of such thumb or finger.
7. The loss of more than one phalange shall equal the loss of the entire finger or thumb.
8. For the loss of a great toe, weekly compensation during twenty-five weeks.
9. For the loss of one of the toes other than the great toe, weekly compensation during fifteen weeks.
10. For the loss of a hand, weekly compensation during one hundred fifty weeks.
11. The loss of two-thirds of that part of an arm between the shoulder joint and the elbow joint shall equal the loss of an arm and the compensation therefor shall be weekly compensation during two hundred twenty-five weeks.
12. For the loss of a foot, weekly compensation during one hundred twenty-five weeks.
13. The loss of two-thirds of that part of a leg between the hip joint and the knee joint shall equal the loss of a leg, and the compensation therefor shall be weekly compensation during two hundred weeks.
14. For the loss of an eye, weekly compensation during one hundred weeks.
15. For the loss of an eye, the other eye having been lost prior to the injury, weekly compensation during two hundred weeks.
16. For the loss of hearing in one ear, weekly compensation

during fifty weeks, and for the loss of hearing in both ears, weekly compensation during one hundred fifty weeks.

17. The loss of both arms, or both hands, or both feet, or both legs or both eyes, or of any two thereof, caused by a single accident, shall equal permanent total disability, to be compensated as such.

Sec. 1397. *Basis of computation.*

1. Compensation shall be computed on the basis of the annual earnings which the injured person received as salary, wages, or earnings in the employment of the same employer during the year next preceding the injury.

2. Employment by the same employer shall mean in the grade in which the employee was employed at the time of the accident, uninterrupted by absence from work due to illness or any other unavoidable cause.

3. The annual earnings, if not otherwise determinable, shall be three hundred times the average daily earnings in such computation.

29. COMPENSATION FOR OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES ¹

The arguments used so effectively by advocates of compensation for accidents, and now so generally accepted by all men, apply with even greater force in the consideration of relief for the victims of occupational diseases. No one will doubt, for example, that placing the financial cost of lead poisoning upon the lead industry will promote greater cleanliness in the lead trades. It will pay to clean up. A considerable part of the money now paid to employers' liability companies and to ambulance chasers could, under a just system of compensation, go where it belongs — to the injured workman or his family. Expensive, annoying, and unsatisfactory litigation could be reduced to a minimum. Information concerning special danger points in industry would be automatically pointed out to the factory inspectors in a manner both prompt and sure. Unnecessary occupational diseases would then be prevented, and that is the real problem.

¹ From John B. Andrews, "Compensation for Occupational Diseases," in *The Survey*, Vol. 30, page 18 (April 5, 1913). Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

The principle is admitted that workmen should be compensated for injuries by accident arising out of their employment. It is only consistent that incapacity caused by diseases due to the employment should also be included. Some diseases are, in the ordinary use of the term, accidental. But many people work where trade diseases of an insidious nature are contracted and where there is constant risk of illness on that account. These diseases are as serious as accidents. There is no social justification for drawing an arbitrary line of distinction — the principle of compensation is no longer in an experimental stage. A compensation law should include, says Sir Thomas Oliver, the leading English authority on the subject, "industrial diseases, the consequences of which may be immediate or remote, and which are often more severe than accidents."

It must be admitted that even our discredited system of employers' liability has afforded occasional relief to the victims of accidents. But even this uncertain and irregular protection, poor as it is, has in most instances been denied to workers exposed to the creeping horror of industrial disease. The exact occupational cause of the affliction is, of course, more difficult to prove. The employee is thus placed at still greater disadvantage in dealing with his employer. American judges, basing their opinions on outgrown decisions of the British House of Lords, have declared that "industrial injuries" include only those afflictions of an accidental nature whose cause can be ascribed to a definite point of time, and have thus almost universally barred even from the occasional and expensive relief of employers' liability the victims of such typical maladies as the match maker's "phossy jaw," the lead worker's "wrist-drop" and painter's colic, the boiler maker's deafness, the glass worker's cataract, the potter's palsy, the hatter's shakes, and the compressed-air worker's bends.

The public has not yet forgotten pitiful cases where match manufacturers, through the work of their attorneys, were able to deny all financial relief to their victims of "phossy jaw." And there are cases now pending in the courts where men totally blinded by the fumes of wood alcohol have year after year sued in vain for some financial relief from brewery companies which employed them to varnish the inside of beer vats.

30. METHODS SUGGESTED FOR THE REDUCTION AND PREVENTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT¹

Suggestions for the reduction and prevention of unemployment include: (1) the promotion of industrial education to equip workers with a degree of skill that will increase their efficiency and stabilize employment; (2) stricter regulation of immigration for the purpose of effecting an approximate equilibration between the influx of immigrants and the demand for labor; (3) organized, systematic dovetailing of seasonal industries in order to give the workers in these trades subsidiary occupations during slack seasons; (4) regulation of industry by standardizing products and coördinating production and sales departments, with a view to furnishing employment the year round; (5) systematic adjustment and distribution of public work in order to absorb surplus labor in dull seasons and periods of excessive unemployment; (6) rigid regulation or the abolition of private employment agencies; (7) establishment of an adequate system of public employment exchanges for the effective placement of labor; (8) unemployment relief or charity; (9) more conservative regulation of credit; and (10) unemployment insurance. . . .

31. UNEMPLOYMENT: COMPENSATION AND PREVENTION²

The three main causes of unemployment are the labor turnover, the seasons, and the credit system. The labor turnover as a cause of unemployment is not a serious matter. Rather is it a good feature of modern liberty. Liberty means labor turnover; it means that the worker can quit one job and go to another; it means that the employer who is dissatisfied with the inefficiency or misconduct of the employee can dismiss him and he can look for a job for which he is better fitted. Consequently in the Huber Bill for the insurance and prevention of unemployment before the recent Wisconsin Legislature, it is provided that the first three days of

¹ From Gordon Watkins, *An Introduction to the Study of Labor Problems*, page 234. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York; 1922. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

² From John R. Commons, "Unemployment," in *The Survey* (October 1, 1921). Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

unemployment shall not be considered unemployment. The bill places the date of the beginning of unemployment compensation the fourth day after the workman is laid off. Labor turnover can be accommodated on about three days' time for hunting a job if employment is steady. . . .

The summer and winter seasons are not the most serious problem of unemployment. They are a cycle which comes regularly every year. Certain industries have a busy period in the summer, others in the winter. Consequently with a regularly recurring cycle, both the firms and the workmen learn to adjust themselves. In some cases the adjustment is made by hiring men by the year on a salary basis; in other cases by dovetailing industries, such as the coal and ice businesses. If that is not accomplished, then there remains the alternative: Pay the worker higher wages during the busy season, so that he can tide himself over until the following busy season which can be calculated upon. The leading example is in the building trades in northern sections. The building workmen receive high wages, say a dollar an hour, but as they work only about eight months a year, that dollar an hour is equivalent to only about sixty-five cents an hour through the year. Yet there are large building contractors who are learning how to spread their work over the year.

Where the industry does not equalize itself, the employer must make some special arrangement in order to keep labor steadily employed throughout the year. One of the illustrious examples in this country is the Dennison Manufacturing Company of Framingham, Massachusetts. This company started as manufacturers of Christmas trinkets. Their busy season began in September, when the retailers ordered their goods, and ended with about three or four months of intense crowding and overwork. Then they adopted a definite purpose of stabilizing their business. They did it by various devices, well known to manufacturers at the present time. They coördinated their sales department with their production department and it became the business of their salesmen to induce the retailers to order in advance so that the manufacturing could come along throughout the year instead of being concentrated in one season. Now they begin manufacturing Christmas cards fifteen months before they are actually sold to the ultimate consumer.

They introduced many other products to which their employees could be transferred, and they trained their workers so that they might change from one occupation to another or something nearly like it. Now they manufacture several thousand different articles, and for several years they have had no unemployment. They have stabilized their industry by dovetailing and spreading out. It has required ingenuity, good management, and good salesmanship, but it has been accomplished.

The banking system, which is the center of the credit system, more than the business man who is the actual employer, can stabilize industry, and, in stabilizing industry, stabilizes employment. The difficulty is that no one individual can do it alone; no bank can do it by itself; no one business man can do it by himself; it is a collective responsibility and collective action is necessary. If one person is trying to stabilize his industry by not overexpanding and not taking too many rush orders, he simply knows that his competitors will get his business. But if all the business men who are competing with each other know that the banks are treating the others in the same way, then stabilization might be expected to work. So that the inducement to stabilize employment in order that it may be really effective must not only take the example of those manufacturers who have pioneered the way themselves, but must interest the entire banking system of the state or nation in the plan.

Now the Huber Bill proposes that when an employer lays off a man, if the man has had six months' work in the state during the year, the employer shall pay him a dollar a day for a period of thirteen weeks, and pay the state ten cents a day additional toward expenses of administration. This creates a possible liability of about \$90, added to every man taken on in case he is laid off through no fault of his own, but simply through fault of the management. It means an added liability which the employer assumes when he hires a workman, so that, under such circumstances, it should be expected that when an employer wants to expand, and he ordinarily cannot expand except by getting credit, he will go to the bank for additional credit and the banker will necessarily inquire as to what security he has that, at the end of these rush orders, he will be able to continue

the employment or pay that possible \$90. In other words, the business man and the banker together are the controllers of credit, and it is the control of credit which can stabilize business. The overexpansion of credit is the cause of unemployment, and to prevent the overexpansion of credit you place an insurance liability on the business man against the day when he lays off the workmen.

As to the practicability of a proposition of this kind, unemployment insurance is already in existence in seven or eight countries, with a somewhat different system. It was started some twenty-five years ago in Switzerland, with a system which broke down because wrongly conceived. It then spread to Belgium, where it has been in operation for some twenty years; then to Denmark some fifteen years ago; then England took it up on the grandest scale yet known. It applied in England, some ten years ago, to two million workmen, but since the war the number has been increased until the law applies to twelve million workmen. Italy followed the example of England. Norway has established the system. It appears that the industrial unrest in England and Denmark would before now have brought revolution had it not been for this unemployment insurance. By taking note of the experience of these countries, it is possible for America to improve upon their systems. In the Huber Bill most of the rules and regulations, the interpretations of the law and the procedure, are taken from the British system.

The evils of the European systems are twofold: In the first place the state goes into the insurance business and operates an insurance fund, and in the second place the finding of jobs is left largely to the trade unions.

The system which was started in St. Gall, Switzerland, twenty-five years ago, broke down in two years. It provided for compulsory insurance on every workman. The workman was to insure himself. The state did not contribute and the employer did not contribute, but the workman was assessed and he had to pay into a state fund for his own benefit in case of unemployment. The result was that workmen began to leave the canton. The system broke down.

It was next taken up about fifteen years ago in the city of Ghent, Belgium. A different feature was added. It provided that if any

association of workmen of a voluntary character should be organized for the relief of unemployment and the accumulation of a fund, the city of Ghent would add one-half the amount that the association paid out. In other words the city of Ghent subsidized the trade unions, which were the only organizations that could take advantage of the law. They have already their out-of-work funds; they already have their employment offices, their business agent to find jobs, and the city of Ghent comes to their aid, subsidizes them by paying practically one-half the amount that the union itself had paid. Apparently the only reason why that system has worked in Ghent and has spread over Belgium is because certain individuals have given very great and careful attention to it.

When the same system, applied in Denmark, had resulted in great abuses, and the law was revised in 1920, it was provided that the unions should no longer decide whether a man was entitled to compensation benefit or not. A state officer was appointed whose business is that of an umpire to decide as between the union and the state. The practice of subsidizing the union was continued, but the provision took out of the hands of the unions the decision as to whether the union is entitled to the state subsidy or not.

When England took it up, ten to fifteen years after these other countries, she adopted an entirely new idea: that the three parties were to contribute. The workman was to contribute something like five cents a week, the employer five cents a week, and the state two and a half cents a week. This money was to be put into a state fund, operated by the government. But England retained the feature that if a trade union was paying out-of-work benefits it could present a bill to the government showing the amount of money it had paid out and the government would refund to the union the amount called for by the insurance scheme.

These theories and practices in Europe have been based upon the idea, first, that unemployment is something that cannot be prevented, that it is something inevitable, and that, this being the case, a philanthropic system to aid working people when out of work should be established; second, that the state should both contribute to the fund and operate the insurance business.

The Huber Bill, introduced in Wisconsin, abandons the idea that

the state can operate the system successfully or that the trade unions can operate it. It starts on the idea that the modern business man is the only person who is in the strategic position and has the managerial ability capable of preventing unemployment. In other words, the system proposed is exactly like that of the workman's accident compensation law of this state. A mutual insurance company is created, operated, and managed solely by the employers. That company is created upon the same principle as the state's accident compensation law. The employers establish their own premiums, supervised by the state insurance board; they pay out the benefits to the workmen exactly as they pay out the benefits under the accident compensation law. The only difference is that instead of the doctor who cures the man of accidents, the bill provides an employment officer who finds the man a job. The system avoids what might be called the socialistic and paternalistic schemes of Europe. It is a capitalistic scheme. It avoids the socialistic scheme, in that the state does not go into the insurance business; it avoids the paternalistic scheme in not paying out relief for an inevitable accident. It induces the business man to make a profit or avoid a loss by efficient labor management. It places the compensation so low that the workman has no expectation of more than enough to pay his rent.

THE CASE IN ACCIDENT COMPENSATION

If we may judge from what employers have done in the case of the accident-compensation law, we may predict what they will do under an unemployment-compensation law of this kind. When the state of Wisconsin enacted its accident-compensation law, it tied it up with an accident-prevention law and placed both laws under the administration of the state Industrial Commission.

The Industrial Commission then made a search throughout the country to find the best man for the prevention of accidents. They found C. W. Price of the International Harvester Company and succeeded in inducing him to come into the state and take up the work of accident prevention. This was done even before the compensation law went into effect. Mr. Price organized the accident-prevention work; he started the safety movement. He started

organizations in the shops and in communities. He established safety committees by which the employers themselves, along with their engineers and their workmen, drew up the safety rules. The industrial Commission law provides a place for these advisory committees.

DESIRABILITY AND PRACTICABILITY

In any proposition of this kind there are two questions. Is it practicable? Is it desirable? The foregoing has indicated its practicability. It is based on the knowledge gained from the experience of various European countries and upon the experience of the Industrial Commission with the accident-compensation law.

If we recognize that this question of capital and labor acquired its bitterness from this failure of capitalism to protect the security of labor, then we shall conclude that unemployment compensation and prevention is of first importance. We have already removed from the struggle between capital and labor the bitterness over the responsibility for accidents. Labor agitators formerly could stir up hatred of the employer on the ground that the employer gets his profits out of the flesh and blood of his workmen. No longer do we hear that language; but we do hear them say that capital gets its profits out of the poverty and misery of labor and the reserve army of the unemployed. That is the big remaining obstacle which embitters the relations between capital and labor. While individuals may think it is undesirable, yet from the standpoint of the states and of the nation, we must submit somewhat our individual preferences to what may help to prevent a serious menace in the future, and must impose upon capital that same duty of establishing security of the job which it has long since assumed in establishing security of investment.

QUESTIONS

1. What is the "domestic system"?
2. Trace the various steps, under the domestic system, in getting the goods into the possession of consumers.
3. Show the changes the industrial revolution brought about in the making of cotton cloth.
4. What great differences in the management of industry were brought about by machine industry?

5. What is meant by "The Iron Man in Industry"?
6. Why do men of great ability enter industry today?
7. Compare the effect of the "Iron Man" upon the defective with the effect upon the normal man.
8. Give the chief reasons for women's wages being lower than men's.
9. Show how the "Safety First" campaigns have reduced industrial accidents.
10. Summarize the chief provisions of the "Workmen's Compensation Law of the State of Iowa" with respect to the employer's liability for compensation.
11. What does the law say concerning the schedule of compensation in case of disability?
12. Do the same arguments used by advocates of compensation for accidents apply in the consideration of relief for the victims of occupational diseases? Why, or why not?
13. Enumerate the methods suggested for the reduction and prevention of unemployment.
14. Name the three main causes of unemployment as given by Professor Commons.
15. How did the Dennison Manufacturing Company stabilize its business?
16. According to Professor Commons, how can unemployment be prevented?

CHAPTER FIVE

THE EXPANSION OF THE SOCIAL MIND

32. THE SOCIAL MIND¹

"The social mind" is a term much used in sociology. It is a metaphor. Individual persons have each a mind of his own. But society has no mind. The metaphor means that many minds act harmoniously together, so that the social group acts as a unit. The members of the social company keep step in their minds, as it were. Many associates act as if they were of one mind. It is obvious that this mental harmony and unity are necessary to social life; without it no society would be possible at all.

33. THE IDEALS OF THE SOCIAL MIND²

Another interesting aspect of social suggestion is the ideals that dominate the social mind of any given age or people. Each age and people has its own peculiar theory of the values of life; in other words, its own peculiar philosophy of life. Take Puritan New England of the eighteenth century as an illustration. Life was austere. Beauty and pleasure were regarded as almost sinful. A religion of fear and self-denial was overdone. Children were disciplined with unreasonable rigor. Morality was severe. There were good elements in this way of living, to be sure; and our civilization owes it very much indeed. But life was made needlessly sober. The point of the illustration is that the Puritans regarded this as *the* way of life, whereas it was only *a* way of life. They filled the atmosphere of their own little environment with the blue smoke of the ideals they had kindled themselves, and then imagined that blue was the color of the whole universe. As a result of social suggestion, everybody accepted the current ideals and believed them because everybody else believed them.

¹ From Ross L. Finney, *Elementary Sociology*, page 215. Benj. H. Sanborn & Co., Chicago, 1923. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

² From Ross L. Finney, *Elementary Sociology*, pages 220-221. Benj. H. Sanborn & Co., Chicago; 1923. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

Every age and people have done the same thing. The Middle Ages, ancient Rome, ancient Greece, the Chinese, the Germans of the period before the Great War, each had a philosophy of life which each regarded as *the* philosophy of life. The different ideals of different peoples constitute a most interesting aspect of history.

We ourselves are in the same predicament, of course; obsessed by the peculiar and factional ideals of the age in which we live. Are we not quite certain that wealth is the measure of personality, that personal happiness is the chief end of life, that compulsion is of very doubtful utility, that personal liberty is the highest good, that social salvation is in material prosperity, and that the achievements of the last century are greater than those of all other centuries, and so forth, and so forth? Is it not quite as impossible for us to stand apart from our ideals and criticize them as it was for the Puritans to do so in their day? Do we not all believe in these ideals because everybody else believes in them? And yet may they not well be leading us blindly into the ditch? If our ideals were as sound as we fancy them to be, how could there be so much restlessness and social turmoil? No age was ever characterized by more.

34. MODERN COMMUNICATION: ENLARGEMENT AND ANIMATION ¹

The changes that have taken place since the beginning of the nineteenth century are such as to constitute a new epoch in communication, and in the whole system of society. They deserve, therefore, careful consideration, not so much in their mechanical aspect, which is familiar to every one, as in their operation upon the larger mind.

If one were to analyze the mechanism of intercourse, he might, perhaps, distinguish four factors that mainly contribute to its efficiency; namely:

Expressiveness, or the range of ideas and feelings it is competent to carry.

Permanence of record, or the overcoming of time.

Swiftness, or the overcoming of space.

Diffusion, or access to all classes of men.

¹ From C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, pages 80-86. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York; 1909. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

Now while gains have been no doubt made in expressiveness, as in the enlargement of our vocabulary to embrace the ideas of modern science; and even in permanence of record, for scientific and other special purposes; yet certainly the long steps of recent times have been made in the direction of swiftness and diffusion. For most purposes our speech is no better than in the age of Elizabeth, if so good; but what facility we have gained in the application of it! The cheapening of printing, permitting an inundation of popular books, magazines, and newspapers, has been supplemented by the rise of the modern postal system and the conquest of distance by railroads, telephone, and telegraphs.

It is not too much to say that these changes are the basis, from a mechanical standpoint, of nearly everything that is characteristic in the psychology of modern life. In a general way they mean the expansion of human nature; that is to say, of its power to express itself in social wholes. They make it possible for society to be organized more and more on the higher faculties of man, on intelligence and sympathy, rather than on authority, caste, and routine. They mean freedom, outlook, indefinite possibility. The public consciousness, instead of being confined as regards its more active phases to local groups, extends by even steps with that give-and-take of suggestions that the new intercourse makes possible, until wide nations, and finally the world itself, may be included in one lovely mental whole. . . .

Probably there is nothing in this new mechanism quite so pervasive and characteristic as the daily newspaper, which is as vehemently praised as it is abused, and in both cases with good reason. What a strange practice it is, when you think of it, that a man should sit down to his breakfast table and, instead of conversing with his wife and children, hold before his face a sort of screen on which is inscribed a worldwide gossip! . . .

The sort of intercourse that people formerly carried on at the crossroad stores or over the back fence, has now attained the dignity of print and an imposing system. . . . That the bulk of the contents of the newspaper is of the nature of gossip may be seen from noting three traits which together seem to make a fair definition of that word. It is copious, designed to occupy, without exerting, the

mind. It consists mostly of personalities and appeals to superficial emotion. It is untrustworthy — except upon a few matters of moment which the public are likely to follow up and verify. . . . There is a better and a worse side to this enlargement of gossip. . . . It promotes a widespread sociability and sense of community; we know that people all over the country are laughing at the same jokes or thrilling with the same mild excitement over the football game, and we absorb a conviction that they are good fellows much like ourselves. . . . On the other hand, it fosters superficiality and commonplace in every sphere of thought and feeling.

In politics communication makes possible public opinion, which, when organized, is democracy. The whole growth of this, and of popular education and enlightenment that go with it, is immediately dependent upon the telephone, the newspaper, and the fast mail, for there can be no popular mind upon the questions of the day, over wide areas, except as the people are promptly informed of such questions and are enabled to exchange views regarding them.

Our government, under the Constitution, was not originally a democracy, and was not intended to be so by the men that framed it. It was expected to be a representative republic, the people choosing men of character and wisdom, who would proceed to the capital, inform themselves there upon current questions, and deliberate and decide regarding them. That the people might think and act more directly was not foreseen. The Constitution is not democratic in spirit. . . . That any system could have held even the original thirteen states in firm union without the advent of modern communication is very doubtful. . . . Democracy has arisen here, as it seems to be arising everywhere in the civilized world, not, chiefly, because of changes in the formal constitution, but as the outcome of conditions which make it natural for the people to have and to express a consciousness regarding questions of the day. . . . When the people have information and discussion they will have a will, and this must sooner or later get hold of the institutions of society.

35. THE EXTENSION OF COMMUNICATION BY HUMAN INVENTION¹

No one who is asked to name the agencies that weave the great web of intellectual and material influences and counter-influences by which modern humanity is combined into the unity of society will need much reflection to give first rank to the newspaper, along with the post, railroad, and telegraph.

In fact, the newspaper forms a link in the chain of modern commercial machinery; it is one of those contrivances by which in society the exchange of intellectual and material goods is facilitated. Yet it is not an instrument of commercial intercourse in the sense of the post or the railway, both of which have to do with the transport of persons, goods, and news, but rather in the sense of the letter and circular. These make the news capable of transport only because they are enabled by the help of writing and printing to cut it adrift, as it were, from its originator, and give it corporeal independence.

However great the difference between letter, circular, and newspaper may appear today, a little reflection shows that all three are essentially similar products, originating in the necessity of communicating news and in the employment of writing in its satisfaction. The sole difference consists in the letter being addressed to individuals, the circular to several specified persons, the newspaper to many unspecified persons. Or, in other words, while letter and circular are instruments for the private communication of news, the newspaper is an instrument for its publication.

Today we are, of course, accustomed to the regular printing of the newspaper and its periodical appearance at brief intervals. But neither of these is an essential characteristic of the newspaper as a means of news publication. On the contrary, it will become apparent directly that the primitive paper from which this mighty instrument of commercial intercourse is sprung appeared neither in printed form nor periodically, but that it closely resembled the

¹ From Carl Bucher, *Industrial Evolution*, pages 216-218. (Translated by S. Morley Wickert.) Henry Holt & Co., New York; 1901. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

letter from which, indeed, it can scarcely be distinguished. To be sure, repeated appearance at brief intervals is involved in the very nature of news publication. For news has value only so long as it is fresh; and to preserve for it the charm of novelty its publication must follow in the footsteps of the events. We shall, however, soon see that the periodicity of these intervals, as far as it can be noticed in the infancy of journalism, depended upon the regular recurrence of opportunities to transport the news, and was in no way connected with the essential nature of the newspaper.

The regular collection and dispatch of news presupposes a widespread interest in public affairs, or an extensive area of trade exhibiting numerous commercial connections and combinations of interest, or both at once. Such interest is not realized until people are united by some more-or-less extensive political organization into a certain community of life-interests. The city republics of ancient times required no newspapers; all their needs of publication could be met by the herald and by the inscriptions, as occasion demanded. Only when Roman supremacy had embraced or subjected to its influence all the countries of the Mediterranean was there need of some means by which those members of the ruling class who had gone to the provinces as officials, tax-farmers and in other occupations, might receive the current news of the capital. It is significant that Cæsar, the creator of the military monarchy and of the administrative centralization of Rome, is regarded as the founder of the first contrivance resembling a newspaper.

QUESTIONS

1. Define the term "social mind."
2. Prove or disprove the statement "ideals dominate the social mind of any given age or people."
3. What four factors mainly contribute to the mechanism of intercourse? How does the newspaper influence the national mind?
4. Show that in politics communication makes democracy possible.
5. Show how communication has been extended by human invention.

CHAPTER SIX

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE HOME

36. THE OCCUPATIONAL PROGRESS OF WOMEN¹

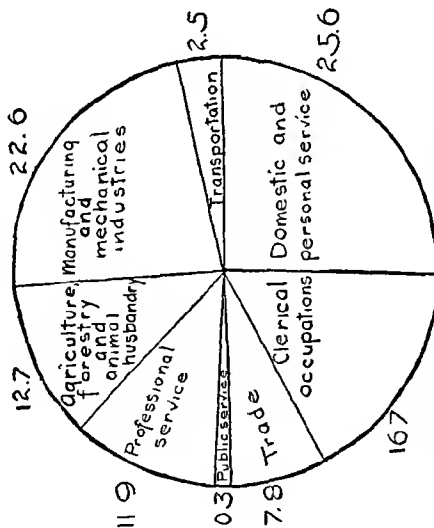
The country's half-awakened interest in the problems of women in industry was completely aroused by the unusual conditions attending the World War. Never before had women been called so urgently to take the places of men at the plow, the lathe, and the desk; and never had industrial crises been met more valiantly. During this chaotic period of replacing the labor of men by that of women many adverse conditions were met and endured and women achieved a deserved recognition as potent factors in the industrial world.

Since that time has passed it seems likely that women will to some extent continue to pursue the occupations which they then undertook; at any rate, that they will not lose the recognition gained during the war of their importance to industry. The industrial problems of women are far more conspicuous than they were ten—even five—years ago, but their full importance cannot be known unless certain questions are first answered: How many women are at work in the United States and in its territorial possessions? Where do they work? What do they do? Has their number increased or decreased during the last few years? . . .

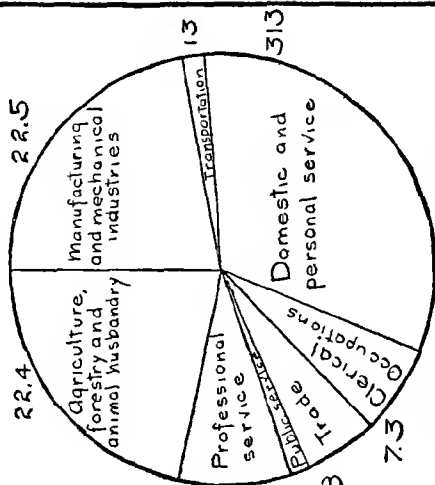
The really significant deduction to be made from a study of the census statistics is that, while the proportion of women 10 years of age and over engaged in non-agricultural pursuits showed but a slight increase from 1910 to 1920, there was a decided change in the distribution of women among the various gainful occupations. In 1910 there were 203 occupations in which 1000 or more women were employed; in 1920 the occupations in this group had increased in number to 232, and a very large part of this increase was in occupations in manufacturing and mechanical industries and professional service. Increases of 50,000 or more occurred among women who were clerks in offices, stenographers and typists, bookkeepers and

¹ From *The Occupational Progress of Women*, Bulletin of the Women's Bureau No. 27, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.; 1922.

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN 1920



8,549,511 women gainfully employed



8,075,772 women gainfully employed

cashiers, teachers, saleswomen, telephone operators, trained nurses, and clerks in stores. Decreases of 50,000 or more occurred among farm laborers (at home), farm laborers (working out), cooks, general servants, laundresses, dressmakers, and seamstresses (not in factory), and milliners and millinery dealers. If the women employed as servants, as farm laborers, as dressmakers, and as milliners had held their own in numbers from 1910 to 1920, a pronounced increase in the proportion of all women employed would have resulted. If the women in these four occupations had shown an increase in number commensurate with that of the female population, then 25.4 per cent of all women 10 years of age and over would have been gainfully employed in 1920, as compared with 23.4 per cent so occupied in 1910.

On the whole, the great change seems to have been in a decrease among women working in or for the home and in personal-service occupations, and a corresponding increase in clerical and allied occupations, in teaching, and in nursing, all of which have been women-employing occupations for many decades but have not before reached such numerical importance.

37. WOMAN AS A PRODUCER¹

Woman has always worked. Even before the industrial revolution when handwork became machine work and industries left the home for the factory upon the introduction of power-driven machinery, woman had always to earn her keep. In the herdsman stage hers was the task of watering the flocks, and even of tending them, of preparing the skins for clothing and the flesh for food. Likewise in the agricultural stage, woman was a producer. In certain backward communities even today women plow and plant, hoe and reap. In fact, they often do these things in order to provide food and clothing for a husband as well as for children. Gardening, caring for the chickens and cows, soap making, spinning, the manufacture of butter and cheese, and weaving, as well as preserving and

¹ From Lattimore and Trent, *Legal Recognition of Industrial Women*, Chapter 1. Issued by the Industrial Committee War Work Council of the National Board, Young Women's Christian Association, New York; 1919. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

canning, have always been woman's work. In no stage of economic development have women confined their economic activities within the four walls of a house.

The slightest familiarity with life on the farm of fifty years ago or even less is convincing as to the economic status of women. It would be difficult to name an activity on such farms with which women were not associated. Was it haying or harvesting or threshing? The women carried the water to the "hands" and cooked their meals. Was it hog killing? The women rendered the lard or ground the sausage. Was it sorghum making or corn planting? Women and girls stripped the cane or dropped the grains of corn into the open furrow. Not a moment of the time of the pioneer woman was or could have been given over to pink teas. The economy of each household assigned to her a position of economic importance second to none. In fact, the endlessness of her tasks has been immortalized in the rhyme:

Man works from sun to sun,
But woman's work is never done.

Household manufacture, which includes all those articles now made in factories but formerly made in the home and on the plantation from raw material produced largely on the farm where the manufacturing was done, was of very great moment to the nation at large in its early history as a supplement to agriculture — of necessity the prevailing industry in a new country. Without a European market, or in fact any market at all, agricultural profits were always very small. This was especially true on the frontier and in all sections devoid of transportation facilities, because there were so many farmers, hence a small number depending on others for their agricultural products. The fertility of the soil also gave a liberal return for the work involved. Since there was no market for the labor of the field, the farmer had to exchange his leisure hours for a supply of clothing and other necessities which he could have purchased if he had had a market for his staples. Until this market came, his dependence upon the household factory was almost absolute. It is certainly no exaggeration to say that civilization could not have been maintained in sections of the New England and Middle

states during the colonial period, and on the frontier everywhere for several years after the appearance of the first settlement, without the system of household manufactures.

Now this "household manufacture" was carried on very largely, though not entirely, by the women of the household. The men produced the raw material, but the women "manufactured" it. If the boys and men made plows, harrows, ox yokes, sleds, butter paddles, bread troughs, and the like, it was the women and girls who were taught to spin, weave, knit, crochet, darn, patch, quilt, do laundry work, make butter and cheese and candles, and to perform many other important household tasks.

Leisure is socially expensive. Woman as a sex has never been an economic parasite. She has always earned her living and produced at least as much as she has consumed. The woman of leisure is as rare as she is expensive. Society could not afford many of them at a time. They cost too much. In fact, few idlers of either sex are possible in a society which carries on little trade and in which each person must confine his consumption of economic goods to the things which he or his family have themselves produced.

Leisure associated with surplus. For this reason the woman of leisure is associated usually either with the institution of slavery or with the high productivity of human effort. Our own country furnishes an excellent example of each. The leisure of the old South was due largely to the fact that slaves could be made to produce enough for themselves and for their masters and mistresses as well. But as a means of supporting a leisure class, the factory system has proved far superior to slavery. With the introduction of machinery, the application of mechanical power, a better organization of working forces, and the simultaneous opening up of rich natural resources in the Western Hemisphere, one factory worker has been enabled to produce many times what he could formerly have produced. This surplus has gone largely to the factory owners and has been used to support their wives in leisure.

Such a surplus, it is clear, could hardly arise in any case except among a people who possess abundant natural wealth, such as fertile lands, vast mineral resources, extensive forests, and the like, and who have in addition an economic system whereby some

workers are denied the full product of their labor. We may confidently expect, therefore, that the gradual exhaustion of our natural resources and the constant effort to increase the share of the social product which goes to the laborers will eventually force an increasing number of women out of the leisure class into the ranks of the breadwinners.

Woman's work and the industrial revolution. The effect of the industrial revolution upon the female breadwinner may be considered from two points of view. From the standpoint of technique, woman was forced to acquaint herself with new tasks and unfamiliar processes. Her unaccustomed ears and nerves were subjected to the deafening roar and grind of heavy machinery from early dawn until late at night. Her pace was set by no will of her own, but by the inexorable and monotonous motions of a thing that turned and thumped and rattled on in pitiless unconcern for her pleasures or for her welfare.

From the standpoint of product or economic return, woman was often forced to adopt the starvation route to a job. Her reward was frequently insufficient for either decent clothing or wholesome food. So great was her helplessness in the new industrial order that she was sometimes forced to perform the services usually assigned to the donkey or the ox.

The factory system. The economic status of woman during the industrial revolution has been influenced if not determined by the rise of the factory system of production. Once water and steam had begun to take the place of human muscle, the tasks of the farm and of the fireside began to pass to the factory, and the workers in the fields and households of the village and countryside found themselves without means of support or livelihood. Since they had no claims on the efforts of others, by means of which they could live in idleness, they were compelled to follow their work to the factory and there to produce largely by machine processes what formerly they had produced by hand.

Drift of population from country to city. Meanwhile agricultural methods were changing and machinery was supplanting the simple tools of the pioneer farmer. The self-binding reaper took the place of the sickle and the cradle, the mowing machine succeeded the

scythe, and the gang plow bid for recognition in the face of the bull tongue and the "double shovel." It so happened, however, in most cases that the improved agricultural machinery was ill adapted for use by women. Hence the demand for men in agriculture was given an impetus, the consequences of which have been most interesting.

At the same time, then, that woman's task was being taken over principally by the factory, the farm was employing machinery which made woman's economic position in the country still less secure. Caught between these two fires, women were driven into the industrial ranks by the thousands. The effect has been not only to decrease the rural population, but also to make it predominantly male.

This movement was accelerated by the growth of improved methods of transportation and by the increase of commerce. In fact, the fabrication of goods in huge factories and their distribution to many quarters by many hands over elaborate transportation systems is, on its technical side, the factory system of production, a system which has resulted, among other things, in a serious diminution of rural population and in a constant drift toward the factory town and the city.

Meanwhile the owners of the factories were not unaware of the great gains possible for them through the use of this labor force which was being remorselessly dumped at their doors. Consequently, while farm machinery was forcing women away from the farm, labor agents and obliging landlords were preparing for these helpless workers a warm reception in the city. As a consequence of unemployment in the country and of greatly increased demands for factory workers, congestion in cities multiplied rapidly; until, under the capitalistic philosophy of the times, intolerable social conditions arose.

The lot of the female factory worker. At first the demand of the factory system for cheap labor was so uncontrolled that women and children were placed in charge of machines and kept there with practically no rest or change of work for twelve and even fourteen and fifteen hours a day; but what was worse still, thousands of children and young girls could be seen in the dawn of early morning

returning with haggard faces to their cheerless homes, there to snatch a bite of cold food and drop upon the floor or upon a bed from which some other member of the household had just arisen. Under such conditions they attempted to store up, if possible, the energy which would be required during the next night's equally grinding and bitter toil.

Such employment of women was not only permitted but actually encouraged by the change in technique. Machinery was consciously designed in order that employers might take advantage of this abundant and therefore cheap supply of labor. The factory owner, however, was not more guilty for this condition of affairs than were the politicians and public servants of that day. Every one seemed to hold without question to the economic and political theory of non-control, let-alone, or *laissez faire*, as they called it. It was the dominance of this philosophy in industry which, more than anything else, perhaps was responsible for the condition of female breadwinners during the early industrial stage of economic development.

Regulating the employment of women workers. Gradually, of course, this state of affairs was changed. The female constitution could not stand such conditions, and much less could they be endured by the children. Hence, men like the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury came to see that the interests of society absolutely required some protection for these classes of workers. The welfare of society dictated it and the helplessness of women and children in industry implored it. As a result of the growth of this opinion in England, Parliament after 1800 passed a number of bills which came to be known as the "Factory Acts," each adding something to its predecessor, until before the nineteenth century had ended England had swung far away from her original theory of *laissez faire* and had adopted the policy of social control to the extent of attempting to humanize and render tolerable the conditions of women and children in industry.

Low-paid labor not necessarily economical labor. This movement, which was so characteristic of England's industrial development during the nineteenth century, and which has within the last quarter of a century or more marked our own economic history, was dictated

not only by social justice but by self-interest as well. The demand for cheap labor overstepped itself, until cheap labor finally became dear labor because of the inefficiency of the workers. A child dropping asleep over a knitting machine may become a very expensive worker. After some years of experience with such conditions, employers found that though they were paying a very low wage per day, they were actually paying dearly for the product per worker which their employees were able to produce. Hence the more enlightened employers joined with the men of social sympathies and larger vision in helping to make the Factory Acts possible.

Protection of women is still developing. That this movement for the protection of female workers in industry has not kept pace with the need for it may be readily admitted. Nevertheless it is gratifying to know that the movement has not ceased, but on the contrary that it is more popular today than ever before. Inch by inch, the front line of woman's economic rights and privileges in our present industrial order is pushed forward.

38. WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE WORLD OF LABOR¹

The boundaries of woman's activity are constantly enlarging. "Woman's work," so far as the breadwinners are concerned, is no longer confined to those operations usually designated as domestic. Such work now engages less than one-third of all female breadwinners, and the proportion is constantly decreasing. Even if agriculture be included as "woman's work," there still remains 45 per cent of the female wage earners to be accounted for: and at the present rate of change, this large minority will soon be converted into a majority.

The old boundaries which hitherto have narrowly defined woman's sphere are breaking down. A 1914 report shows that in a list of over four hundred occupations there are only thirty-nine in which women are not included.

A New York commission reported in 1912 that the only industries

¹ From Lattimore and Trent, *Legal Recognition of Industrial Women*, Chapter 4. Issued by the Industrial Committee War Work Council of the National Board, Young Women's Christian Association, New York; 1919. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

of any consequence in New York which did not employ women were the manufacture of bricks, tiles, fertilizers, and ice.

Woman's work and man's overlap. Thus woman's work and man's overlap in more than 90 per cent of the occupations. In many kinds of work the number of women is small, but in most of them it is growing. Women are earning their daily bread as civil engineers and surveyors; as inventors; as architects; as editors and reporters; as landscape gardeners; as woodchoppers and tie cutters; as forewomen, overseers, and operatives of mines; as blacksmiths, electricians, glass blowers, and the like; as chauffeurs, freight agents, and express messengers. These are but a few of the scores of non-domestic occupations in which women are at present engaged, and new occupations are opening to them almost daily.

The wide distribution of female breadwinners over so many occupations is statistical evidence of the fact that no longer is it true that the home is woman's sole sphere. Preconceived ideas as to woman's place in the world, inherited notions as to woman's fitness or unfitness for certain occupations, man-made standards of propriety, — all are helpless in the face of the powerful economic stress and strain which are an integral part of modern economic and social life. Woman must work, must support herself and her dependents; and in seeking her living, she finds it increasingly difficult to confine her efforts to the home. Woman's sphere is the world, and the world's work is her work, in proportion as she is fitted or fits herself for its satisfactory performance.

39. SOCIAL VALUE OF WOMAN'S LABOR¹

The prevalence of woman in the gainful occupations is not in itself a matter for grave concern. Society has a right to expect every individual, male and female, to make some contribution to his day and generation; and there is not a little presumption in favor of that contribution being economic, at least in part. Nor should concern be felt solely for the welfare of female workers;

¹ From Lattimore and Trent, *Legal Recognition of Industrial Women*, Chapter 6. Issued by the Industrial Committee War Work Council of the National Board, Young Women's Christian Association, New York; 1919. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

the interests of male workers are also very important. But society rightfully has a special concern for the welfare of her women, particularly for those who are classed as breadwinners. If it had not, society would be inconsiderate not only of the interest of the race, but of the community at large, and especially inconsiderate of the interests of all who labor, particularly of men workers.

The working woman a social asset. In his popular work, *Changing America*, Professor Ross discusses the foundation of public concern for the woman who toils. Stated plainly, society's interest in the working woman is the result of two factors, according to Professor Ross: first, her own helplessness and incompetency as guardian of her own life; and secondly, the imperative demand for the perpetuation of the race. Girls from seventeen to twenty years of age do not know what they need. They are not aware that standing all day behind counters, stooping under heavy loads, working at telephone switchboards ten and even fifteen hours a day, are slowly undermining their vitality and unfitting them, not only for ordinary existence, but for the performance of their peculiar function of motherhood. If, however, as Professor Ross points out, such young girls did know the effect that industry has on their physique and vital forces, they would still be unable to help themselves, for they have no choice. Certainly there is little choice between working under conditions that mean slow destruction and not working at all. Girls and women do not go into industry merely for the fun of the thing, but to earn their daily bread. There they meet competitive conditions which are arranged by man for man, the severity of which more frequently than otherwise overtakes even the male constitution and sends the male worker prematurely to the industrial scrap heap. If the fact that woman faces these same conditions does not appeal to the public sense of justice and humanity, it is difficult to imagine a situation which would.

There has come to be added a third reason for public concern for the conditions under which the world's work is done. Forward-thinking employers are convinced as men, as citizens, and as Christians, that there must be a new concept of industrial economy and a corresponding new industrial ethics, and that both economy and ethics demand, *in the interest of industry as a whole*, as well as

in the interest of the community as a whole, that women be given special consideration in the organization of industry and in the laws which govern its conditions until such time as women no longer stand as possible hindrances to the steady progress toward a genuine democracy in industry. There is little use in talking of collective bargaining or of other forms of democratic organization in industry unless first we learn to look upon women as rightfully doing their share, — and a growing share, — in the world's work and therefore as labor factors which cannot in safety for the whole industry be ignored or allowed to work under insufficient legal safeguards.

So we must add to Professor Ross's two considerations a third: both employers and the public, in joint concern not only for human beings, — present and future citizens, — but for the integrity and progress of that industry which is the bulwark of our civilization, now are trying to build up standards for a right use of woman labor entirely considerate of the woman's relative weakness, — as yet, — in the control of her destiny and of her maternal value to society, but thirdly, considerate also of her effect as a laborer upon the industry which hires her and the community which uses the products of her labor or works at her side supplementing that labor.

Woman's physiological handicaps. The helplessness of woman in industry naturally is thought of under two important heads. In the first place, as has already been observed, woman is, physiologically at least, less robust than man. Miss Goldmark, in her authoritative work, *Fatigue and Efficiency*, shows that the female sex is peculiarly susceptible to both fatigue and disease. These physiological differences between man and woman, according to Miss Goldmark, are important, because woman's physiological handicaps make her more subject than man to the strain of industry. Since the health of woman in industry is shown to be specially open to the inroads of fatigue and disease on account of woman's physical make-up, she needs the protection of special laws.

"It goes without saying," says Miss Goldmark, "that the fundamental fact which distinguishes women physiologically from men is their particular sex function — the bearing of children. Their anatomy and physiology is adapted for this primal function,

whether or not it is ever to be realized, whether or not they are ever to become mothers of children. The unmarried as well as the married woman, therefore, is subject to the physical limitations of her sex, and each suffers alike from those incidents of industrial work most detrimental to the female reproductive system, such as overstrain from excessive speed and complexity, prolonged standing and the absence of a monthly day of rest. These and similar conditions are common to most industrial operations and they are particularly harmful to women."

Moreover, Miss Goldmark goes on to point out, the predisposition of working women to disease in general is greater than is true in the case of men. In some instances the difference is as great as 139 to 100. Not only that, but the duration of illness in women is greater than in the case of men; hence, what is technically called the coefficient of morbidity, that is, the duration of sickness per person each year, is higher for women than for men.

Thus, concludes Miss Goldmark, women are at a serious disadvantage because of their greater general liability to disease and because of their peculiar susceptibility to injuries of the generative organs. In a word, they are less resistant to fatigue than men and they suffer more gravely from the strains and stresses of industrial life.

To the testimony of this authority on woman's industrial life might be added the well-nigh universal opinion of the medical profession. These statements are so convincing that they are admitted by the supreme court of the United States in the famous case of *Muller v. Oregon* (208 U. S. 412), in the following language:

Even though all restrictions on political, personal, and contractual rights were taken away, and she (woman) stood, so far as statutes are concerned, upon an absolutely equal plane with him (man), it would still be true that she is so constituted that she will rest upon and look to him for protection; that her physical structure and a proper discharge of her maternal functions, having in view not merely her own health, but the well-being of the race, justify legislation to protect her from the greed as well as the passion of man.

Certain employments should be prohibited to women. Even more remiss are we in recognizing that certain occupations should be prohibited to women, because even the most careful regulation of

working conditions in these occupations would not suffice to prevent injury to the health of women employed therein. Such occupations are those which involve the presence of dust, fumes, vapors, gases, or other substances of a poisonous or clearly harmful nature. We are not a farsighted, to say nothing of a humanitarian people, so long as we permit our women to be employed at these tasks, which, as we see it now, almost necessarily involve physical deterioration and decay.

This question of prohibited employments is particularly pertinent right now, since woman has taken up the work of the world to an extent never equaled hitherto. It should be the concern of the state to find out into what industries she may go, and under what conditions; and from what industries she must be excluded because of adverse conditions inherent, apparently, in the process or business. There is no excuse for women stampeding and rushing without knowledge into jobs which are wholly unsuited to them; nor is society warranted in leaving the new recruits to stumble without guidance upon the thing which they can do best in their country's service. Steps should be taken to find out what work woman can do and may be allowed to do to guide her into such tasks while prohibiting her employment in work which is wholly unfitted to her.

Married women in industry. The married woman with children in industry presents a distinct problem.

Statistics show that in various states and industries from 25 to 40 per cent of American women workers, twenty years of age and over, are married.

The mother who is concerned above all things about the future of her children, and who is forced into industry through widowhood or her husband's inability to support her, faces a very serious situation, because economic failure is almost inevitable and society must step in and aid her, either financially so that she may be a full-time mother or by breaking up the family and providing care for the children so that she may be a full-time breadwinner.

Present industrial conditions are too severe to enable a woman safely to carry both jobs. Thus it is evident that society must fortify itself by providing proper conditions of work for the woman who toils.

40. COMPARISON OF THE ROMAN WOMAN OF THE EMPIRE
WITH THE MODERN AMERICAN WOMAN¹

A review of family history in Rome brings into glaring relief the divergences between the customs of the early and later period. The simple restricted home life of the Roman wife and mother of primitive times is separated by a wide gulf from the almost unlimited social and economic freedom of her sister of a later age. This matron of the Imperial period has far more in common with the emancipated American woman of the twentieth century than with her countrywoman of the early Roman Republic. Just as the legal, economic, educational, and personal rights of the Roman woman were restricted by the early law of the Republic, so were those of the American woman under the English common law. As the rights of Roman women were gradually extended after the Punic wars, in an age when the wealth and culture of Rome were steadily increasing and the stern patriarchal ideas were dying out, so have the rights of American women been extended and their disabilities lessened, due to much the same causes. With wealth usually come leisure and opportunity for reflection; and these bring in their train an amelioration of ideas and of manners. But the parallel can be carried further. As in Rome women eagerly sought outlets for their trained capacities in social, intellectual, and political activities, so likewise do American women in the present day. As the nobly born wives and mothers of Imperial Rome chafed against the physical burdens and the exacting demands upon time and strength of childbearing and rearing, so likewise does a group of American women today, who strive for complete freedom to live their lives and develop their talents outside the limits of the home. The decline of marriage among the intellectual class in America parallels the more general decline in Imperial Rome: the increase of divorce in one country bears striking likeness to that of the other. But in one respect the parallel ceases. American women today, educated to a realization of practical, social issues, show a far more dynamic in-

¹ From W. Goodsell, *The Family as a Social and Educational Institution*, pages 150-152. The Macmillan Company, New York; 1915. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

terest in the lot of the working classes and in the betterment of their living conditions than was ever revealed by the hard and brilliant women of the first centuries of the Roman Empire. Moreover, social consciousness has attained a higher development in the modern world than in the ancient. This is revealed in social groups at present by a spirit of self-criticism and a desire for better things that promises well for the future, and especially for the family as the basic social institution. The unrest and apparent disintegration of the modern family may be the precursor of a better state of things — of a type of family life more nearly adapted to the conditions of the twentieth century.

QUESTIONS

1. Trace briefly the occupational progress of women since 1910.
2. Show, by tracing the various stages in history, that woman as a sex has never been an economic parasite.
3. How did the Industrial Revolution affect the female breadwinner?
4. What is the lot of the female factory worker?
5. What are the three factors that cause society's interest in the working woman?
6. Summarize the findings of Miss G^{ertrude}_{hough}ark concerning women in relation to fatigue and efficiency.
7. What distinct problem does the married woman in industry present?
8. Compare the Roman woman of the Empire with the modern American woman. In what things do the modern women take interest that the Roman women did not?

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE FAMILY

41. THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE FAMILY ¹

The family is a close, sympathetic group whose members are bound together by natural affection, by habit, and by biological necessities. In such a group mutual understanding, mutual sympathy, and mutual service must be highly developed. Consequently there is a high valuation of the personality of each member of the group. This high valuation of persons as such, and devotion to their welfare, is what we mean by "love." Hence the distinctive contribution of the family to our social ideals is undoubtedly that of altruism, or love, with its accompanying mutual service and mutual sacrifice. In the family group the natural egoism of the individual is first counteracted by the development of sentiments of sympathy, loyalty, kindness, and service to others. Thus the family group becomes the ~~ref~~ medium in which social impulses and sentiments are evoked, ~~sand~~ habits formed, and social consciousness awakened. Experience in family relations is, therefore, a step in the development of that wider altruism demanded by society at large. But while all the virtues have their beginning in the family, the life of any particular family group may be very narrow. It is only when family life at its best becomes a pattern, an ideal, for social relations between persons generally, that the contribution of the family to social ideals becomes evident. A civilization which values persons as ends in themselves, which makes devotion to the welfare of persons the chief end of organized human society, would be following the family pattern. On the whole, the movement of civilization for the last few thousand years seems to have been in this direction. Our religion and morality have especially sanctioned this pattern.

¹ From Charles A. Ellwood, *The Psychology of Human Society*, pages 130-131. D. Appleton & Co., New York; 1925. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

42. THE FAMILY AND SOCIAL CONTROL¹

The family was the first social institution. By the word "institution" we mean a group of people who work together permanently for some common purpose. The state is a political institution. The school is an educational institution. The church is a religious institution. The family existed before any of the others.

The human family serves as does the animal family to protect the young, but it also serves many other purposes as well. In the human family the traditions and customs of the race are handed down. Children are trained in their duties to each other and to the community. States and cities borrow many of their principles of government from the family. At the same time they expect the family to be responsible for the good behavior of its members. The state does not begin to hold a child responsible to the civil law for years after birth. During the early years of childhood the family law is the controlling force in a child's life.

How far the family controls and directs the life and conduct of the ordinary boy or girl is hardly thought of, so accustomed are we to expect that the family will bring up its members aright. It is only when there is no family control that we begin to see how necessary is the family with its government to the safety of society.

FAMILY LIFE HAS MANY FORMS

The form of family life which we all know in the twentieth century in the United States is by no means the only kind that is possible. In other lands and in other times the family has often been of an entirely different type. We shall understand our family life more fully if we contrast it with other kinds.

Perhaps the most striking contrast is that which appears in families over which the mother presides as the supreme authority. Such a family is called the maternal family.

¹ From Ernest W. Burgess, "The Family and Social Control" Lesson C-20 in *Lessons in Community and National Life*, Series C, prepared under the direction of Charles H. Judd and Leon C. Marshall. United States Bureau of Education, in cooperation with United States Food Administration, Washington, D. C.

THE MATERNAL FAMILY

On an island in the Gulf of California off the mainland of Mexico, live the Seri Indians. The members of this tribe have no permanent homes, but build out of brush temporary dwellings or "jacals" about the size and appearance of prairie schooners. They use pelican skins for clothing. The women use a thorn with its fiber as needle and thread. The Seri belle uses a shallow bowl of siter for a mirror. The men use turtle shells for shields and have acquired a rude skill in chipping arrows and are adept in tipping their points with poison. If we enter a jacal in which a Seri family lives, we discover a form of family government quite different from our own. The old matron has the post of honor. At the right her sons are seated in the order of their age or strength. At her left is the grown-up daughter, with her little children near her. At the extreme left, just inside or outside the open end of the jacal, squats a young man, the daughter's husband. He does not live here in the home of his wife; his home is in his mother's jacal, where he is in no fear of being driven away by his mother-in-law or brothers-in-law. He has no rights in his mother-in-law's jacal; he is not permitted to utter any command to his own children. His wife's mother and her brother, the uncle of his children, are in authority over the children. The father will have nothing to say as to what youth his daughter shall marry; her uncle will have more voice than he in the decision. But he has some control over his own sister's children, and when he dies his arrows will go, not to his own sons, but to his nephews, the sons of his sister.

THE PATRIARCHAL FAMILY

The kind of family life which we read about in the stories of the Old Testament centered about the patriarch or father of the clan. In Japan and China the great family under the control of the patriarch can be found even today. It was the usual kind in old Greece and Rome. Such a family consists not only of the father and mother and children but also of the grown-up sons with their wives and children. All live together in the same house or in adjoining houses. The patriarch, or the "great father" as he is

sometimes called, is the sole source of authority and has full control over all the members of the family. The sons and the unmarried daughters are absolutely dependent upon *pater familias*, the old Roman name for the patriarch. The patriarchal discipline is strict and severe. When the son arrives at the age for marriage, the bride is selected by his parents. Leaving her home, she enters that of her husband and becomes the helper of her mother-in-law. In Japan she has been carefully drilled for years in the "three obediences": to obey her father, to obey her husband, and to obey her son. In China reverence for the authority of the patriarch is so great that religious rites in the home center about the worship of the family ancestors.

The main fact about the patriarchal family is the large control of the father over the whole social group. This broad authority exists today in many countries, though the size of the family has been reduced from that which existed in Biblical times.

In our own country there was a time when emphasis on the authority of the father was scarcely less than in the ancient countries where the patriarch controlled the whole clan or tribe.

In the New England colonies family government was extremely severe. In the Connecticut colony, for example, the statutes contained the following law:

If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son of sufficient years and understanding, viz., sixteen years of age, which will not obey the voice of his father or the voice of his mother, and that when they have chastened him will not hearken unto them, then may his father and mother, being his natural parents, lay hold on him and bring him to the magistrates assembled in court, and testify unto them that their son is stubborn and rebellious . . . such a son shall be put to death.

Puritan parents allowed little play or recreation to their sons and daughters, for they believed that "Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do." The boys at an early age helped their father with the farm work. The household tasks and the loom required the constant attendance of mother and daughters.

In some modern countries the authority of the father over the family is quite as strong today as it was in our country in colonial times. In fact, the father is in authority even over the mother.

Her place in the eyes of the community and in the eyes of her children is that of an elder child rather than a coördinate of the father. All this puts the father in much the same position as that he occupied in the early days of the patriarchal government. We speak of the family over which the father has such complete authority and in which the mother is subordinate as the small patriarchal family.

THE FAMILY IN EARLY CIVILIZATION

The earlier forms of family organization which have been described belong to stages of civilization in which the family government was practically the only form of government provided by the community for women and children. Men were commanded for the good of the community by military chiefs, but in all other respects it was the family that governed. The tribal life outside the military camp was that of the large family.

THE MODERN FAMILY

In modern society other institutions have grown up. Education is now conducted by schools; work, by industrial organizations; religious worship, by churches; government, by the state. The loss of these activities by the family has made possible a new type of home.

The modern family is peculiarly American. The distinguishing feature is not its small size but the democratic relations within the family. The husband is no longer an autocrat, but shares with his wife the direction of the home. Since most modern industries are carried on outside the home, the severe discipline of the small patriarchal family has disappeared. The authority of the parents rests not so much on the fear of the rod as on greater knowledge and their hold upon the affection and respect of the children.

43. PASSING OF THE ECONOMIC FUNCTION OF THE FAMILY¹

At the beginning of the modern economic era the family was the economic unit of society. It was an institution of expediency. It was usually large and lived close to the soil. It was an economic

¹ From J. P. Lichtenberger, *Divorce: A Study in Social Causation*, pages 161-163. Longmans, Green & Co., New York; 1909. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

necessity. Its function involved not only the social elements of race maintenance and individual well-being but of economic life as well. Children were reared in the home. Their education and training were accomplished there. . . . Food was produced from the soil and came direct from garden and field to the table. Flax, cotton, and wool were transformed into family clothing through the dexterity of the housewife. Shoes were cobbled and furniture was made by the husband on rainy days. . . . Women were of economic necessity home-keepers. Their time and skill were required to the utmost. . . .

Within two generations changed economic conditions have wrought the most profound transformations ever experienced by the race. Within the modern economic era population is rapidly becoming urban, and with the growth of modern industry the economic function of the family is passing away. Children are no longer "brought up" in the home as formerly. Their education has been taken in hand by the state, for which they are removed from the home for several hours each day. . . . The religious training is almost wholly provided by the Sunday school and church. Occupations are taught in the professional and technical schools without the long and unprofitable period of apprenticeship formerly required. The function of production, except of raw materials, has passed over to the shop and factory. . . . Much of the cooking, sewing, washing, and ironing for the family is done better and more cheaply in the bakery, factory, and laundry than in the home; . . . with the passing of the economic function the family ceases to be an economic unit. The members of the household are not interdependent as formerly. The home is maintained more as a comfort and a luxury than as a necessity, the cost becomes more burdensome in proportion to the service rendered, and the temptation to "break up housekeeping" increases. It is cheaper to board. . . . The new industry of the boarding house and the bachelor apartment, and the opportunities of individual employment offered in modern economic production without regard to sex, have shown their influence in the later age at which marriage is contracted and probably also in an increasing number of persons who do not marry at all. The same opportunities are open to the members of the

broken family. If, therefore, other reasons do not exist for its continuance, economic ones will scarcely prove sufficient to hold the family together, and the divorce rate will register the result.

44. ENCOURAGING TENDENCIES IN THE AMERICAN FAMILY ¹

Let it not be supposed that a casualty rate of a ninth is the only feature of the contemporary family. In view of the increase of city life, industrialism, and woman's ease of self-support, the persistent vogue of matrimony is wonderful. More of the Americans are married than of any European people west of Hungary. Moreover, the censuses since 1890, when we began to inquire into conjugal conditions, reveal more people wedded before they are twenty years old and before they are twenty-five years old.

This genial trend owes something to the lightening of the burden of work and of child-bearing to be shouldered by the wife. Among the native-born the worn-out mother of a dozen children is almost unknown. Although the outlook of the self-supporting spinster has brightened, that of the well-mated wife has brightened even more. The popularity of marriage reflects, furthermore, the attractiveness of a type of wedlock which constrains woman less and grants her an ampler sphere of self-determination than any other type known to civilization.

In view of the low illegitimacy and the faithfulness of American husbands and wives in comparison with peoples which pride themselves upon their low divorce rate, there is ground for believing that our society is more successful than any previous large society in confining sex intimacy to the legal channel appointed for it. Our reward for not making it excessively difficult for unhappy persons to escape from marriage is that, while one is in it, one is willing to abide by its rules.

In view of these encouraging symptoms it is not unreasonable to hope that what we are witnessing is not the disintegration of the family institution, but the transition from the old type of family,

¹ From Edward Alsworth Ross, *The Outlines of Sociology*, page 397. The Century Company, New York; 1923. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

in which real incompatibility was masked by the husband's authority and the wife's submissiveness, to a nobler and more democratic type.

45. THE LIMITING OF FAMILY SIZE¹

The economic burden of children. Among the poorer classes an outstanding reason for the desire to restrict the birth rate is the terrible penalty for having children. The income of the laboring classes is fluctuating and insecure. They live almost in poverty and always with a reasonable fear of physical want. . . . The economic conditions of life make it necessary that the labor of the wife supplement the wage of the husband. The woman who must go from her home to work finds a child or children a hindrance to her and so to the family income. There is a hesitancy, aside from the essentially human one of adding to the burdens of an overworked wife, about depriving the family budget of the item which comes from the wage of the wife.

In the American situation, at least, the changing status of the child has a further depressing effect on the birth rate. The age at which the vital strength of the child may be exploited has risen and this limits somewhat the financial return that may come from the child. This restriction on child labor, together with the lengthened period of compulsory school attendance, makes the child a greater economic burden and destroys whatever attractiveness a large family has when viewed from the point of view of certain group mores. . . .

It is not alone among the laboring classes that the family of children is a serious financial burden. . . . A given income will yield more to all concerned in security, welfare, and satisfaction if the numbers are small. It is not possible for the young couple of the better type and limited income to have children without sacrificing other things which are of vital importance. When the social position is such that the individual has reasonable hopes to rise or fears to fall, the size of the family is likely to be restricted. Whether this conduct be attributed to a selfish love of luxury, desire for comfort and economic security, vulgar ambition, or otherwise held

¹ From Edward Byron Reuter, *Population Problems*, pages 172-175. J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia; 1923. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

blameworthy, or be praised as prudence, proper pride, desire for social and self-improvement, it does lead to family restriction.

Other reasons for the desire to limit the size of the family. . . . The rearing of a family of children requires the expenditure of an immense amount of time and energy. For this reason the young couple of the professional classes frequently think themselves forced to choose between a numerous family and professional and personal success. The determination to limit the family does not imply the absence of a desire for motherhood or fatherhood. It is simply an evidence of the insuperable handicap which a highly artificial organization of society throws in the way of the increase of its better classes. . . .

The rising standard of comfort, incident to increasing civilization, and the possibility of increasing the pleasures or decreasing the discomforts of life acts as a powerful repressant on the size of the family. . . . At the same time the rising standard has increased the parental responsibility toward the child. The child makes more of a demand upon the modern parent of the better classes; there is less inclination to leave him to his own devices or to the attention of an ignorant nurse as parents come more to realize that the early training and close environment are the factors that determine the child's future. The modern intelligent parent gives more attention to the child and gives it at the sacrifice of a larger number of and more attractive competing attractions than was formerly the case.

QUESTIONS

1. What are the three chief functions of the family? What is meant by "normal family life"?
2. Show how the rules and customs of the family helped society to carry on its duties to its various members.
3. Compare the family life of the maternal, patriarchal, and modern family.
4. What is meant by a "social institution"?
5. Why do economic reasons no longer suffice to hold the family together?
6. Summarize the "encouraging tendencies" in the American family.
7. Why is there no ground at present for pessimism regarding the future of our family life?
8. Why is the large family less popular than formerly?

CHAPTER EIGHT

CHILD WELFARE

46. THE CRY OF THE CHILDREN ¹

I

Do ye hear the children weeping, O my brothers,
Ere the sorrow comes with years?
They are leaning their young heads against their mothers,
And *that* cannot stop their tears.
The young lambs are bleating in the meadows,
The young birds are chirping in the nest,
The young fawns are playing with the shadows,
The young flowers are blowing toward the west —
But the young, young children, O my brothers!
They are weeping bitterly.
They are weeping in the playtime of the others,
In the country of the free.

II

Do you question the young children in the sorrow,
Why their tears are falling so?
The old man may weep for his tomorrow
Which is lost in Long Ago;
The old tree is leafless in the forest,
The old year is ending in the frost,
The old wound, if stricken, is the sorest,
The old hope is hardest to be lost:
But the young, young children, O my brothers!
Do you ask them why they stand
Weeping sore before the bosoms of their mothers,
In our happy fatherland?

III

They look up with their pale and sunken faces,
And their looks are sad to see,
For the man's hoary anguish draws and presses
Down the cheeks of infancy;

¹ From *Poems* of Elizabeth Barrett Browning.

"Your old earth," they say, "is very dreary ;
Our young feet," they say, "are very weak ;
Few paces have we taken, yet are weary,
Our grave-rest is very far to seek :
Ask the aged why they weep, and not the children,
For the outside earth is cold,
And we young ones stand without, in our bewildering,
And the graves are for the old."

VI

"For oh !" say the children, "we are weary,
And we cannot run or leap ;
If we cared for any meadows, it were merely
To drop down in them and sleep.
Our knees tremble sorely in the stooping,
We fall upon our faces, trying to go ;
And, underneath our heavy eyelids drooping,
The reddest flower would look as pale as snow.
For, all day, we drag our burden tiring
Through the coal-dark, underground ;
Or, all day, we drive the wheels of iron
In the factories, round and round.

"For all day the wheels are droning, turning ;
Their wind comes in our faces,
Till our hearts turn, our heads with pulses burning,
And the walls turn in their places !
Turns the sky in the high window blank and reeling,
Turns the long light that drops adown the wall,
Turn the black flies that crawl along the ceiling, —
All are turning, all the day, and we with all.
And all day the iron wheels are droning,
And sometimes we could pray,
'O ye wheels ' (breaking out in a mad moaning),
'Stop ! be silent for today !'"

VIII

Ay, be silent! Let them hear each other breathing
For a moment, mouth to mouth!
Let them touch each other's hands, in a fresh wreathing
Of their tender human youth!
Let them feel that this cold metallie motion
Is not all the life God fashions or reveals;
Let them prove their living souls against the notion
That they live in you, or under you, O wheels!
Still, all day, the iron wheels go onward,
Grinding life down from its mark;
And the children's souls, which God is calling sunward,
Spin on blindly in the dark.

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XII

And well may the children weep before you!
They are weary ere they run;
They have never seen the sunshine, nor the glory
Which is brighter than the sun.
They know the grief of man, without its wisdom;
They sink in man's despair, without its calm;
Are slaves, without the liberty in Christdom,
Are martyrs, by the pang without the palm:
Are worn as if with age, yet unretrievably
The harvest of its memories cannot reap;
Are orphans of the earthly love and heavenly —
Let them weep! let them weep!

XIII

They look with their pale and sunken faces,
And their look is dread to see,
For they mind you of their angels in high places,
With eyes turned on Deity.
"How long," they say, "how long, O cruel nation,
Will you stand, to move the world, on a child's heart,
Stifle down with a mailed heel its palpitation,
And tread onward to your throne amid the mart?

Our blood splashes upward, O gold-heaper,
And your purple shows your path !
But the child's sob in the silence curses deeper
Than the strong man in his wrath."

47. HISTORY OF THE CHILD WELFARE COMMISSION MOVEMENT¹

In 1908 England passed what is known as the "Children's Act." This act was a revision, amplification, and codification of most legislation affecting the rights and interests of children. So great was the progress made by this act that it has been called 'dren's Magna Charta.

Within a year, America, under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt, concerned itself with the needs of its children. President Roosevelt in 1909 called a conference at Washington of child-welfare experts from various parts of the country. The report of this conference is a classic in the field of social welfare and states with great force and clarity what the rights of children are and how those rights are to be safeguarded. It will be remembered that the greatest pronouncement of this conference was that home life was the finest product of modern civilization and that no child should ever be taken from his home and his parents except for grave and serious reasons which make it impossible for him to secure a square deal in his home. It was also the conclusion of this conference that the state should equip itself to discharge its full obligation to the child and it was recognized that good law was one means of discharging that obligation.

Following the White House Conference of 1909, Child Welfare Legislative Commissions were appointed in Ohio (1911), Oregon and New Hampshire (1913), District of Columbia (1914), Missouri (1915), Minnesota (1916), Montana and Michigan (1917), and Delaware and Kansas (1918).

In 1919 the Federal Children's Bureau called another conference, inviting experts in America and from every progressive country in the world, and here again were threshed out the great social prob-

¹ From the *Report of the Iowa Child Welfare Commission*, pages 8-9 State of Iowa, 1924

lems involved in child protection. The progress of Commissions in various states was discussed and recommendations made based on the experience of such commissions to that date.

Following the conference of 1919, commissions have been appointed in twenty-one additional states; namely: Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Connecticut, Indiana, and Nebraska (1919), Colorado, New York, Illinois, Kentucky, and Tennessee (1920), West Virginia, Alabama, Virginia, Utah, and North Dakota (1921), Maryland (1922), and Pennsylvania, Florida, and Iowa (1923).

It will thus be seen that the movement has become national in its scope and that the appointment of a child welfare commission in Iowa was but the coöperation by the State in a movement that has steadily gained recognition in the most progressive states in the Union. The principle involved is well outlined in this statement of the Federal Conference of 1919 referred to above:

The child welfare legislation of every state requires careful reconsideration as a whole at reasonable intervals, in order that necessary revision and co-ordination may be made and that new provisions may be incorporated in harmony with the best experience of the day. In states where children's laws have not had careful revision as a whole within recent years a child welfare commission or committee should be created for this purpose. Laws enacted by the several states should be in line with national ideals, and uniform so far as desirable, in view of diverse conditions in the several states.

48. SOCIAL INSURANCE AND CHILD WELFARE ¹

The failure of the underpaid masses to protect themselves against the many hazards of life presents a serious social problem. The problem extends far beyond the suffering and want of the individual wage earner. It involves his wife, his children, the industry of which he is a part, and finally the state, upon whose care both he and his family may ultimately be thrown. It becomes therefore the concern of the progressive state to provide, by legislative enactment, a form of insurance which shall, at the lowest possible cost, adequately protect the wage earners from economic risks. It is natural to term

¹ From John B. Andrews, "Social Insurance and Child Welfare," in *The American Child*, Vol. 1, pages 48-52 (May, 1919). Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

this insurance provided by society for the needy group in the community, *social insurance*. Through this insurance the life of the worker is stabilized; he is liberated from the haunting fear of destitution: his right to life, liberty, and happiness is made more effective.

It is obvious that the child must profit by this stabilizing effect of social insurance, for it is often the child who figures as the center of the tragedy when some catastrophe comes to the breadwinner of the family. In the unhappy cycle of events precipitated by an accident, a serious illness, or a long period of unemployment, when the small family savings are swept away, what is more inevitable than that the efforts of the child should be enlisted to save the family from debt or destitution? Yet what a heavy price the community pays in the injury done to the development of these children, from whom the workers of a few years hence must be recruited.

Already in the United States workers are protected against the loss due to industrial accidents in all but seven Southern states. Many of the workmen's-compensation laws are inadequate both as to promptness and certainty of payment and as to scale of compensation, yet each year these laws enable thousands of families to keep together and to tide over the period of hardship. The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in a study of the effect of workmen's-compensation laws in relation to the industrial employment of women and children reports one widow whose husband was killed by an industrial accident as declaring that she could never stay downhearted very long because her sister cheered her up by saying, "Look how much better off you are than if he'd a died natural." A Polish widow, when questioned as to her views on workmen's-compensation, replied, "My God, what would I do without it?" The report goes on to state that "her award was only \$5.75 a week, but as she had four children under 14 and earned but \$3 a week herself by taking in washing, her emphasis was pardonable."

Important as is insurance against accident, it is less far-reaching in its effects than insurance against sickness — health insurance as it is termed in this country in order to emphasize the preventive aspects of the plan. Today the greatest fear in the life of the working man or woman is the fear of sickness. Seven times as much destitu-

tion is caused by sickness as accident, and against the ravages of disease the ordinary worker is helpless to prepare. For sickness takes away the worker's wages with one hand and with the other presents him with bills for medicine, for doctor or surgeon, and for nourishing food to build him up. Sickness is like a two-edged sword and cuts both ways. "In all countries, at all ages it is sickness to which the greatest bulk of destitution is immediately due," say Beatrice and Sidney Webb. Under the storm and stress of this destitution the child does not escape unscathed. He may be too young to be sent to work, instead he may be sent to an institution or left to the haphazard attention of a well-meaning neighbor — or allowed to roam the streets. But there is no vicissitude of family fortune that does not leave its trace upon the sensitive organism of the child. In the pale, wan look of the little girl we may often read the illness of her father.

The present method of handling sickness among wage earners has been well described by Warren H. Pillsbury of the California Industrial-Accident Commission, when comparing the cost of the present method of handling industrial illness with the cost of health insurance.

The workman becoming ill, struggles to remain at work as long as possible to avoid loss of wages and refuses to go to a physician until the last moment because of fear of expense, thus preventing treatment at the time it is most effective, the early stages of the illness. When finally obliged to leave work, the income of himself and his family is ended. His savings will seldom last for more than a week or two of idleness. He then becomes a charge upon relatives, friends, and public charity. Worry over his financial condition prolongs his illness. Inability to procure necessary medical and surgical appliances or to take proper rest or sanitarium treatment delays recovery. The children are taken from school prematurely and put to work without adequate preparation or allowed to go upon the streets. Eventually he may go to the county hospital for a long period of time, and his wife will be taken care of by the Associated Charities, or will undertake work beyond her strength and become ill. The employer has to break a new man into the work. The community, friends, or relatives have to support the family, and the man is inefficiently and haphazardly taken care of because of lack of organized social endeavor to meet the problem presented.

The accuracy of Mr. Pillsbury's description is readily confirmed by a study of the cases aided by charity organizations. These

organizations report that from 50 to 80 per cent of their relief goes to families in which sickness is the chief factor in the plea for help. Greatly as these cases differ in outward appearances, they all present one fundamental need — the need of medical and financial aid in the sickness crisis. A case recently referred to a New York charity organization is one of many that might be cited to illustrate in detail how pressing is this need. Anton W. was a butcher's assistant earning \$18 a week. He was taken seriously ill with pleurisy and was sent to the hospital, leaving his wife and three children without any means of support, except \$2 a week which the wife earned by taking care of a neighbor's child. Desiring to keep her family together, the wife added to this income by doing night ironing for a near-by laundry. During the day she took care of the children. Under the strain of this extra work, however, her health gave way and she became ill. The oldest child, just 15, was then taken from school and put to work in a factory where she earned \$5 a week. The neighbors tried to care for the wife and the young children. The case was finally referred to a charity organization and a weekly allowance was given the family to tide over the hard period — much against the protest of the wife, who objected most strenuously to becoming an object of charity.

With this sickness case it is interesting to contrast the aid supplied a family through the workmen's-compensation law in New York State. A Russian, Vladimir K., was working for a boss carpenter when he fell through the floor of the building and was instantly killed. He was survived by a widow, a mother, and three children. The family had accumulated no savings, the three children were all under five, the widow was frail and the mother was almost an invalid. Utter destitution would have faced this family had it not been for the workmen's-compensation law. Through the insurance fund Vladimir's family was paid \$15 a week. They also received \$100 to pay for the funeral expenses. It is hard to estimate in terms of human values just how much the weekly cash benefit meant to that family. Certainly no statement in financial terms can do justice to an arrangement which made possible their very existence as a family unit.

A large number of men and women of widely varying interests

are today demanding that this protection afforded to workers in case of accident be extended to cover cases of sickness. In response to this demand, nine state commissions have been appointed to study sickness in relation to the wage earner and to suggest methods of control. Eight of these have reported. They all agree that the present handling of the sickness problem is inadequate and five commissions have already recommended compulsory health insurance as the best method of solving the problem.

49. CHILDREN SERVE WHO ONLY WAIT ¹

Work has its rightful place in human life. Its rightful place in adult life is a very different thing from its rightful place in child life. Economic production and family support are not the business of children. Their business is to be boys and girls, and to be educated vocationally. The greatest vocation of all is life, and the ultimate employer is society. The business of men and women is to be men and women, good parents and good citizens as well as good workers; and this implies a childhood of preparation, unhampered by the peculiar burdens of adulthood. In this preparation there must be training for the right use of leisure, for in this age of machines leisure is increasing and is increasingly demanded. Its need for the millions of machine tenders in this country — not all the human working machines are tenders of machines, or vice versa — has been strikingly presented in a book by Arthur Pound, called "The Iron Man in Industry." "To lengthen the childhood of the individual," says Stuart P. Sherman, "at the same time bringing to bear upon it the influences of tradition, is the obvious way to shorten the childhood of races, nations, classes, and so to quicken the general processes of civilization." Child-labor and compulsory schooling laws can contribute toward this end, but the time of that lengthened childhood must be filled with many things that laws of no description can provide, but only love and knowledge of children and the spirit of humanism. Not even good schools are wholly the result of well-framed laws and large appropriations.

¹ From Raymond G. Fuller, *Child Labor and the Constitution*, pages 30-31. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York; 1923. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

Dr. John H. Finley, in a recent book on child welfare, speaks of the "eternal debt of maturity to childhood and youth." Whatever we who have grown up have received in our childhood from our fathers and mothers, that and much more we owe to the generation that comes after — a debt of service. That which the most enlightened parent wishes for his own children, he and every citizen should wish for all the children of the nation. There is a debt which we owe to America, and a debt that America owes to the boys and girls who will make — and be — the America of tomorrow.

50. CHILD WELFARE AND THE LIFE OF THE REPUBLIC ¹

Secretary of Labor Davis, who personally is very fond of children, expressed the situation very impressingly in these words:

America today faces the problems of her children. I am no pessimist with regard to the future of this republic. But it is clear to me that in the short century and a half, since our forefathers founded the nation, we have climbed to a point of perilous greatness. Day by day we face new dangers, new social, economic, and political evils, which must be fought and conquered, if the nation is to live and fulfill the high ideals for which its founders struggled. Menace after menace to our institutions arises. To meet these manifold difficulties we must have men and women of sturdy bodies, sound minds, and above all of healthy souls, ready to enter the lists for American principles and American institutions. . . .

Every year in America a quarter of a million children die within the first year after they are born. Every four years a million infants are snatched from their mothers' breasts by death, which in almost every case, the authorities tell us, can be prevented. This quarter of a million babes a year has been sacrificed to human indifference, for the experts of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor have found that to prevent practically all these deaths only one thing is needed — care. . . . Do you doubt that this is a national problem, that it is of vital importance? The Federal Congress has recognized the evil and has acted to meet it. This is a work which arouses every human sympathy. When we consider that there are seventeen countries where it is safer for a woman to become a mother than it is in America, and that there are nine countries where a newborn babe has a better chance to grow to a healthy childhood, we can see the need for action. . . .

Close on the heels of this problem of death among babies comes the evil of children sacrificed on the altar of industrialism. Approximately a million

¹ From Roger W. Babson, *Recent Labor Progress*, pages 185-187. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York; 1924. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

and a half of our boys and girls are pressed to labor before their time, doomed to the dreary drudgery of mine and mill and factory by economic necessity. Bowed beneath the burden of work, thrown prematurely into the maelstrom of industrial competition, lacking the physical and moral strength necessary to the tasks before them, this army of babes in industry faces a hopeless future. Before them stretches the treadmill of unremunerative labor, with its few years of heart-breaking toil, and at the end — a grave. Here, if anywhere, lies the danger to our Republic. Not in the blatant mouthings of doctrinaires and political quacks who preach false political and economic doctrines in the forum and the market place. Not in the grasping gospel of the peddler of political nostrums is our peril, but here, where citizens of the future are broken mentally, morally, and physically on the torture wheel of misled industrial management, is the deep-seated evil that must be rooted out if America is to prevail.

51. STANDARDS FOR CHILDREN'S PLAY ¹

Play for grown people is recreation — the renewal of life. For children it is growth, the gaining of life. The problem of children's play therefore is the problem of whether they shall grow up at all, and full opportunity for children's play is the first thing democracy will provide when it shall have truly been established. To state a complete set of minimum requirements would take a long time, but I want to point out some of them that are in danger of being overlooked.

1. The first requirement for the play of the little child is a mother. To him his mother is at once instigator, audience, playmate, playground, and apparatus. If his own mother is dead, he must have another to take her place. There are plenty of women spiritually dying for lack of children and children spiritually dying for lack of mothers. The two must be brought together. A mother is of course of no use to the child when he is locked up in a room and she is working in a factory. By having a mother I mean having one who has time to play a mother's part.

2. The next requirement of the child's play is a home, a place where he can have his own things to play with, his own place to keep them, and some one to share with him and to be interested in what

¹ From *Standards of Child Welfare*, Bulletin No. 60, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C.; 1919.

he does. More than half of our child wreckage is due to broken homes, and the disaster to their play life is in great part to blame.

3. Another essential to the child from a very early age is a child-community with established play traditions, games suitable to his age that are immemorial (they need not be more than three months old to possess this latter attribute), games that are taken for granted as what every fellow does and that afford a variety for different seasons and different temperaments and talents. There may be a play leader behind the group and its tradition, but the group is the living medium for the child. Among the plays in vogue for children over eleven years of age should be the great team games.

4. Every child should have the equivalent of a tool house, a woodshed, and an attic in his life, whether provided by the home, the school, or some near neighborhood institution. He must, apart from any systematic teaching, have things to hammer and cut and melt and put together, to burn, color, and otherwise deal with as his soul leads him. He must have all the tools, paints, materials, and suggestive objects that have the power to satisfy him and to lead him on.

5. Every child should go through a period of having pets — anything from white mice to horses will do.

6. Every child should be encouraged to make collections of stones or bones or leaves or some such objects, and should be shielded from the kind of nature study which is to the love of beasts and flowers what the study of anatomy is to social life.

7. Every child must grow up in the presence of the arts. He must have painting materials and see people painting about him — sketching and carving and expressing their ideas in form and color. He must have a chance to do these things himself, to see pictures incidentally, not having them too much explained or talked about, but finding them, as a matter of course, part of his experience. The art teaching in the schools must, from the first and always, include making pictures from his own mind and imagination.

He must be brought up in the presence of music and of the familiar use of song and of musical instruments — not forced to play the piano until so sterilized on that side that he will never listen again to a sonata if he can help it, but given a chance to learn on some instru-

ment and sufficient training to see whether that is really for him a form of utterance.

He must hear reading aloud and take part in it, not in the inane and stultifying method of reading something to the teacher which she already knows by heart and does not want to hear, but of bringing in things that he has read and wants others to hear because he likes them, or hearing things that others have found worth listening to.

For these purposes there should be in every neighborhood, whether in the school or library or otherwise, a house of the Muses, or rather, two houses, one for music and one for the other arts. The latter should be full of books and pictures and tables and window seats to go off and read at, with perhaps a little stage. The former should also be beautiful and have pictures and a garden besides its music rooms.

The idea that children should be taught to be useful must be supplemented by the idea, equally important, that they should be prepared to live.

8. That children should have all the outdoor play that they can hold is too obvious and now too well known to need restating. For children under six there must be a back yard with a sandbox and other things to play with and a little general playground in the block. For those from six to ten there must be a sufficient playground, properly equipped and with the right leadership, within a quarter of a mile, usually connected with the school; and for the rest below seventeen the effective radius is half a mile. The playgrounds and playhouses must be made beautiful. There must be full opportunity for skating, coasting, and skiing in winter where the climate makes it possible, and for bathing and boating in the summer.

9. Every child must have a garden in his home, or two months a year of country life. In fact, he ought to have the latter anyway, and will have to arrange it with his mother or his aunt or partner to look after his home garden when he is away.

These are some of the things we shall provide when we learn to take either democracy or education seriously.

52. MINIMUM STANDARDS FOR CHILDREN ENTERING EMPLOYMENT ¹

Age Minimum.

An age minimum of 16 for employment in any occupation, except that children between 14 and 16 may be employed in agriculture and domestic service during vacation periods until schools are continuous throughout the year.

An age minimum of 18 for employment in and about mines and quarries.

An age minimum of 21 for girls employed as messengers for telegraph and messenger companies.

An age minimum of 21 for employment in the special-delivery service of the U. S. Post Office Department.

Prohibition of the employment of minors in dangerous, unhealthy, or hazardous occupations or at any work which will retard their proper physical or moral development.

Educational Minimum.

All children between 7 and 16 years of age shall be required to attend school for at least nine months each year.

Children between 16 and 18 years of age who have completed the eighth but not the high-school grade and are legally and regularly employed shall be required to attend day continuation schools at least eight hours a week.

Children between 16 and 18 who have not completed the eighth grade or children who have completed the eighth grade and are not regularly employed shall attend full-time school. Occupational training especially adapted to their needs shall be provided for those children who are unable because of mental subnormality to profit by ordinary school instruction.

Vacation schools placing special emphasis on healthful play and leisure time activities, shall be provided for all children.

Physical Minimum.

A child shall not be allowed to go to work until he has had a physical examination by a public-school physician or other medical officer

¹ From *Minimum Standards for Child Welfare*, Bureau Publication No. 62, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C., 1920

especially appointed for that purpose by the agency charged with the enforcement of the law, and has been found to be of normal development for a child of his age and physically fit for the work at which he is to be employed.

There shall be annual physical examination of all working children who are under 18 years of age.

Hours of Employment.

No minor shall be employed more than 8 hours a day or 44 hours a week. The maximum working day for children between 16 and 18 shall be shorter than the legal working day for adults.

The hours spent at continuation schools by children under 18 years of age shall be counted as part of the working day.

Night work for minors shall be prohibited between 6 P.M. and 7 A.M.

Minimum Wage.

Minors at work shall be paid at a rate of wages which for full-time work shall yield not less than the minimum essential for the "necessary cost of proper living" as determined by a minimum wage commission or other similar official board. During a period of learning they may be rated as learners and paid accordingly. The length of the learning period should be fixed by such commission or other similar official board, on educational principles only.

Placement and Employment Supervision.

There shall be a central agency which shall deal with all juvenile employment problems. Adequate provision shall be made for advising children when they leave school of the employment opportunities open to them, for assisting them in finding suitable work, and providing for them such supervision as may be needed during the first few years of their employment. All agencies working toward these ends shall be coordinated through the central agency.

53. CHILD LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES ¹

HOW MANY CHILDREN IN THE UNITED STATES ARE AT WORK?

The following table shows the number and proportion of boys and girls reported as gainfully employed in 1920:

PER CENT OF CHILDREN ENGAGED IN GAINFUL
OCCUPATIONS, BY SEX: 1920²

SEX	CHILDREN 10 TO 15 YEARS OF AGE, INCLUSIVE		
	TOTAL	Engaged in gainful occupations	
		Number	Per cent
Both sexes	12,502,582	1,060,858	8.5
Male	6,294,985	714,248	11.3
Female	6,207,597	346,610	5.6

IN WHAT OCCUPATIONS ARE CHILDREN ENGAGED?

Of the child workers 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive, in the United States in 1920, 647,309, or 61 per cent, were reported to be employed in agricultural pursuits, the majority (88 per cent) of them as laborers on the home farm. An even larger proportion, 87 per cent, of the working children 10 to 13 years of age, inclusive, were at work in these occupations. There were 185,337 children, or 17.5 per cent of the total number of working children under 16, employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries — cotton, silk, and woolen mills; cigar, clothing, and furniture factories; and canneries and workshops. Over 80,000 children were engaged in some type of clerical occupation; approximately 63,000 were in trade; 54,000, the majority of whom were girls, were working at occupations classified under "domestic and personal service"; and 7191 — almost all of them boys — were employed in the extraction of minerals. Almost 25,000 children 10 to 13 years of age were reported as employed in trade and clerical occupations, over 12,000 in "domestic

¹ From *Child Labor in the United States: Ten Questions Answered*, Bureau Publication No. 114, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C.: 1924.

² Fourteenth Census of the United States, Population, 1920: Vol. IV, "Occupations," page 476.

and personal service," and almost 10,000 in manufacturing occupations.

The occupations of children 10 to 15 years of age employed in non-agricultural pursuits are given in the following table and in the chart on page 134.

NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY OCCUPATION, OF CHILDREN 10 TO 15 YEARS OF AGE, INCLUSIVE, ENGAGED IN SELECTED NON-AGRICULTURAL PURSUITS, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920¹

OCCUPATION	CHILDREN 10 TO 15 YEARS OF AGE ENGAGED IN NON-AGRICULTURAL PURSUITS, 1920	
	Number	Per cent distribution
All non-agricultural pursuits	413,549	100.0
Messenger, bundle, and office boys and girls ²	48,028	11.6
Servants and waiters	41,586	10.1
Salesmen and saleswomen (stores) ³	30,370	7.3
Clerks (except clerks in stores)	22,521	5.4
Cotton-mill operatives	21,375	5.3
Newsboys	20,706	5.0
Iron and steel industry operatives	12,904	3.1
Clothing-industry operatives	11,757	2.8
Lumber and furniture industry operatives	10,585	2.6
Silk-mill operatives	10,023	2.4
Shoe-factory operatives	7,545	1.8
Woolen and worsted mill operatives	7,077	1.7
Coal-mine operatives	5,850	1.4
All other occupations	162,722	39.3

IS THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN AT WORK DECREASING?

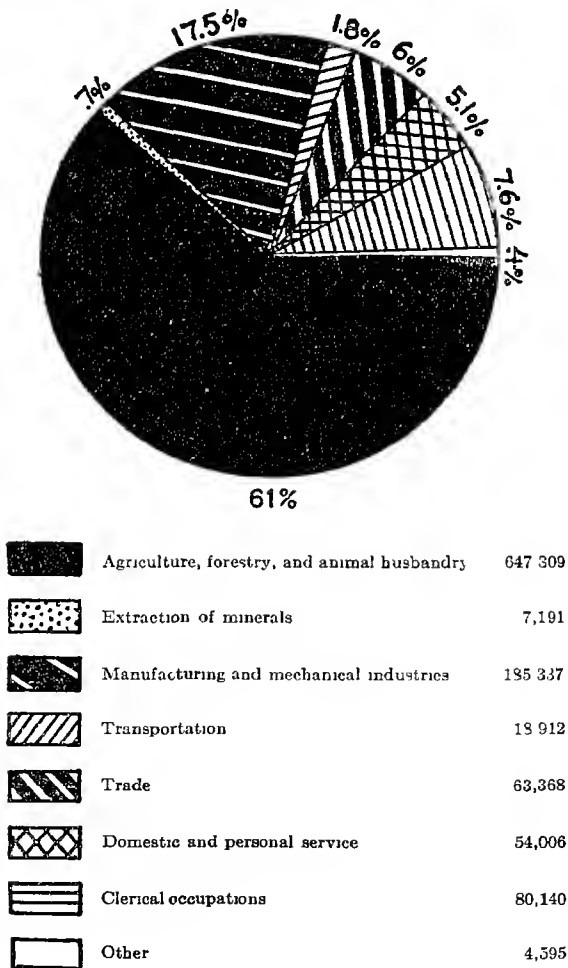
Once in every 10 years the United States Census Bureau reports on the number of working children 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive. No complete count of employed children is made between these censuses. The most recent decennial census was taken in January, 1920, at the beginning of a period of industrial depression and at a season of the year when employment in many occupations, especially in agriculture, was at its lowest ebb. Moreover, in 1920, the em-

¹ Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920: "Children in Gainful Occupations," page 30.

² Except telegraph messengers.

³ Includes clerks in stores.

CHART SHOWING PROPORTION OF CHILDREN 10 TO 15 YEARS OF AGE,
INCLUSIVE, IN EACH PRINCIPAL DIVISION OF OCCUPATIONS 1920



ployment of children was discouraged by a Federal child-labor law.¹ Since the census of 1920 was taken this law has been declared unconstitutional, the industrial depression has been succeeded by a period of increasing employment, and were a census to be taken at the present time it would doubtless show a notably larger number of employed children than that of January, 1920.

The census of 1920 records a considerable decrease since 1910 in the number of children reported at work. Although the total child population 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive, increased 15.5 per cent during this period, the number of working children reported decreased almost half (46.7 per cent). A corresponding decrease took place in the proportion of all children of these ages who are employed in gainful occupations, from 18.4 per cent in 1910 to 8.5 per cent in 1920. As shown by the following table, the decline is most striking in connection with agricultural pursuits, in which the number of children employed decreased 54.8 per cent.

RELATIVE CHANGES IN NUMBERS OF CHILDREN AND OF ALL PERSONS 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER EMPLOYED, 1910 TO 1920, BY OCCUPATION AND AGE²

OCCUPATION	PER CENT OF INCREASE OR DECREASE: 1910-1920		
	All Persons 10 Years of Age and Over	Children 10 to 15 Years of Age, In- clusive	Children 10 to 18 Years of Age, In- clusive
Total population	+ 15.6	+ 15.5	+ 18.4
Total gainfully employed	+ 9.0	- 46.7	- 57.8
Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry	- 13.5	- 54.8	- 58.9
Farm laborers (home farm)	- 44.1	- 50.8	- 55.1
Farm laborers (working out)	- 22.1	- 75.4	- 81.1
Non-agricultural pursuits	+ 20.2	- 25.9	- 48.8
Extraction of minerals	+ 13.0	- 60.2	- 72.6
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	+ 20.6	- 29.0	- 71.1
Transportation	+ 16.2	- 9.1	- 29.1
Trade	+ 17.4	- 10.4	- 1.7
Public service (not elsewhere classified)	+ 67.8	+ 110.4	+ 142.9
Professional service	+ 26.6	- 2.8	+ 7.4
Domestic and personal service	- 9.7	- 51.9	- 62.7
Clerical occupations	+ 80.0	+ 12.9	- 4.6

¹ The Federal child labor tax law was effective from April 25, 1919, to May 15, 1922.

² Compiled from Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920: "Children in Gainful Occupations," pages 65, 68; "Occupations, Age of Occupied Persons," page 378; Thirteenth Census of the United States, Vol. IV, "Population," 1910, "Occupation Statistics," page 302.

IS THE DECREASE BETWEEN 1910 AND 1920 REAL OR APPARENT?

According to the United States Census Bureau, a large part of the decrease in the number of children reported in 1920 as employed is apparent rather than real. This is due primarily to a change in the census date from April 15 in 1910 to January 1 in 1920, a circumstance which largely explains the smaller number of children reported in 1920 as engaged in farm work and other seasonal occupations in which fewer children are employed in January than in the spring. Since by far the greater part (84.5 per cent) of the decline in the number of children reported at work in all occupations is due to the large decrease (54.8 per cent) in the number reported as employed in agricultural pursuits, clearly much of the total decrease reported in 1920 cannot be regarded as an actual reduction in the total numbers of children gainfully employed. In the non-agricultural occupations,¹ however, much of the decline in the numbers of children reported as employed represents a real decrease, which may safely be attributed to conditions affecting directly and especially the labor of children. Chief among these are the enactment and strengthening of legal regulations, both State and Federal.

The table on page 135 shows a smaller number of employed children in 1920 than in 1910 in each of the principal occupational groups other than the agricultural¹ except two — public service and clerical work, neither of which was affected by the Federal child-labor laws — although the total number of employed persons of all ages in each of these occupational groups increased.

54. ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF CHILD LABOR²

It has long been recognized that the labor of children may be marketed in severe competition with the labor of men and women. Some people have designated this as the most serious effect of child labor. There are three ways in which the employment of children may result in competition with adult workers: (1) Adult workers

¹ Child labor in agricultural pursuits was not covered by either of the Federal laws and has never been subject to State regulation to any appreciable extent.

² From Gordon Watkins, *An Introduction to the Study of Labor Problems*, pages 137-138. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York; 1922. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

may be displaced and thrown out of employment; (2) the conditions of labor may be demoralized; and (3) the wages of adult workers may be lowered. In unskilled occupations or where easily operated machines have been introduced, child labor has resulted in displacement of adult labor. The competition of children with men and women workers on the labor market inevitably tends to depress the general level of wages. An investigation by the federal Department of Labor showed that of a number of children under 16 years who left school to go to work, 90 per cent entered industries in which the wages of adults were \$10 a week or less. Many other investigations have shown that the family income is not greatly increased by the earnings of children, on account of the fact that the competition of youthful workers depresses the earnings of adults. . . . Because child workers cannot bargain collectively, employers find it easy to extend the hours and to neglect the physical conditions of employment. Child labor, moreover, has been classified as one of the important causes of unemployment among adult workers. In the period of general unemployment, 1921-1922, the Secretary of Labor stated that one and a half million more jobs for adults would be available to relieve the unemployment situation if child labor in the United States were eliminated. . . .

55. WHAT IS THE PROPOSED FEDERAL CHILD-LABOR AMENDMENT?¹

Inasmuch as two attempts of the Federal Government to extend its protection to child laborers by indirect measures have been declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court, it would appear that Federal regulation is possible only through an amendment to the Constitution specifically granting to Congress the power to pass laws prohibiting and regulating the employment of children in the various states.

Such an amendment has been submitted by Congress to the states. It provides for a grant of power to Congress to prohibit or to regu-

¹ From *Child Labor in the United States: Ten Questions Answered*, Bureau Publication No. 114, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C.; September, 1924.

late child labor, limiting the extent of this power to persons under 18 years of age. The resolution proposing this amendment was adopted at the last session of Congress by a vote of 297 to 69 in the House of Representatives and a vote of 61 to 23 in the Senate. It is in the following form:

"SECTION 1. *The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age.*

"SEC. 2. *The power of the several states is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of state laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the Congress.*"

This amendment is now before the states for ratification. The legislatures of three fourths of the states must ratify it before it becomes a part of the Federal Constitution.

QUESTIONS

1. What is the chief value of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's poem, "The Cry of the Children"?

2. Trace the history of the Child Welfare Commission Movement.

3. How will social insurance help the welfare of children? Should the same protection afforded to workers in case of accident be extended to cover cases of sickness?

4. What is the rightful place of work in adult life? in child life?

5. What is "the eternal debt of maturity to childhood and youth"?

6. What is the evil in America most menacing to the perpetuity of the Republic? What results has it produced? How can we prevent it?

7. Discuss the standards for children's play as outlined by Joseph Lee. Do you agree with this list?

8. Outline the age minimum for the employment of children as formulated by the Washington and Regional Conferences on Child Welfare.

9. What should be the minimum educational requirements for children entering industrial employment?

10. What physical minimum should be insisted upon for children entering industry? What hours should they work? What pay should they receive?

11. How many children were at work in the United States in 1920?

12. What are the chief occupations in which children are engaged?

13. Explain the reason why there were fewer children at work in 1920 than in 1910. Was the decrease real or apparent?

14. What is the economic effect of child labor?

15. Outline the proposed Federal child-labor amendment.

CHAPTER NINE

EDUCATION

56. CLASSES OF ILLITERATES IN THE UNITED STATES¹

The illiterates may be divided into several different classes — native and foreign born, rural and urban, male and female, and voters and minors. There are 4,931,905 illiterates in the United States, 1,763,740 of which are foreign born. The majority — 3,168,165 — are native born. Therefore, native-born illiteracy constitutes the largest illiteracy problem that the United States has to solve. The foreign born are mainly in urban sections. Some, but not all of them, by any means, are being reached in evening or Americanization classes along with the foreign born who read and write in some languages and are being taught English. Some of the best work being done in urban sections is in home classes where mothers are reached and taught. On the whole, the opportunities provided for the foreign-born illiterates are better than for the native born, or would be if they were sought out and brought into the schools that are within their reach. Evening schools are available to them in all the large cities and in many of the smaller towns, but the actual campaigning of foreign-born illiterates into school is a neglected feature which leaves many in ignorance of the opportunity at their door and of which no printed notice can inform them.

The native-born illiterates are mainly in rural sections, and there are large areas where no classes or schools have yet been established for them. In certain rural sections there are localities where the only adults who are escaping from illiteracy are those who join the army or are sentenced to the penitentiary. These two places, though so unlike in their standing, their purpose, and their effect on the lives of men, both provide classes for adults and secure excellent results in educating illiterates — results that could be secured in the schoolroom at home if its doors were opened for the purpose. Rural illiteracy, as a problem, far exceeds urban illiteracy; yet, per-

¹ From the *Report of the Illiteracy Commission of the National Education Association*, pages 10-12. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.; July, 1924.

haps, ten times as much is being spent on urban illiteracy as on rural, due, in part, no doubt, to the fact that most cities provide and administer their own funds and can apply them to recognized needs while the poorer rural sections, where most illiteracy is found, are dependent upon appropriations from the state and nation. There are 4,333,111 illiterate voters in the United States and these, if organized, could swing any national election and could thus control the nation's policies. The number of illiterate minors in the United States is 598,794. Some of the states, Maine for example, began the illiteracy campaign at the end of the line, seeking first to wipe out illiteracy among those of school age. 3,745,947 are under 55 years of age and most of these are near 30 and in the prime of life. Years of usefulness might be before them if they were given some education. The 1,186,000 who are above 55 years of age are not hopeless by any means. This is the age of adult education. The universities are graduating octogenarian students. It is not impossible that from these older men and women may come some assistance with national problems, and certainly it is not too much to expect that their value will be increased to their communities, to their families, and themselves if they are given their chance.

The 500,000 men and women in the United States who can read but cannot write have been listed in the illiterate class. Some of these illiterates were made in the schools, paradoxical though the statement may seem. Some schools in the past failed to teach writing in the early grades and children learned to read through their first, second, and even third readers without ever having pen or pencil in their hands. Either the course of study was incomplete for these grades, not providing writing, or the teacher was negligent and delayed it, or else writing materials were as lacking in remote regions as they were in Belgium after the World War. The child that dropped out of school before he reached the grade where writing was introduced was an illiterate. The same condition prevailed in some foreign countries. Not a few of the aged foreign born in this country testify that writing was not considered a necessary subject in their native land during their school days. One of the R's only was thought to be essential for girls — reading — and two for the boys, reading and 'rithmetic. Writing was, consequently, omitted.

Such conditions have doubtless been cured in the schools of those foreign countries as they have certainly been cured in America, but they were not improved early enough to prevent some who went to school twenty or thirty years ago from being left illiterate. The situation of these half-million is most hopeful. They could be redeemed more quickly than any of the others. Writing is a mechanical or imitative subject and easily acquired, especially by those who can read. It would be a matter, not of weeks, or of months, but of days to make this half-million citizens literate. It is the quickest reduction possible in any class of illiterates that have been found.

As recapitulation the following table is presented :

Total number illiterates in the United States . . .	4,931,905
Illiterate males	2,540,209
Illiterate females	2,391,696
Illiterate voters	4,333,111
Illiterate minors	598,784
Number who can read but cannot write	500,000
Native-born illiterates	3,168,165
Foreign-born illiterates	1,763,740
Illiterates in urban sections	1,955,905
Illiterates in rural sections	2,976,793
Illiterates under 55 years of age	3,745,947

57. EFFECTS OF ILLITERACY ¹

The illiteracy of parents is the chief barrier to school attendance, as the records show. "Illiteracy begets illiteracy." Parents who have no education themselves seldom appreciate the value of education to their children. They are the ones who are most likely to resist or disobey the compulsory attendance laws or to feel aggrieved that any attempt should be made to control their children, such as forcing them into school. One illiterate parent who was brought before a tribunal for violating the school attendance law declared that it did not pay to raise children any more since the school used up their best working hours, — and this is evidently the attitude of many parents who have no education themselves and who raise

¹ From the *Report of the Illiteracy Commission of the National Education Association*, pages 16-18. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.; July, 1924.

children, as they do hogs and cattle, as an asset simply in earning a livelihood.

Louisiana, the state with the highest percentage of illiteracy, has the lowest percentage of school attendance of any state in the Union. The effect of illiteracy on elementary school attendance in most states is marked, but on high-school attendance it is even greater. In densely illiterate sections the number of girls and boys who enter high school is relatively small and the number who finish an academic course is negligible. In Archer County, Texas, with 0.8 per cent illiteracy, 24.7% of the children between 18 and 20 are in school, while in Willacy County, with 44.6% illiteracy, only 1.7% of the children between 18 and 20 attend school or college. This is not cited as an isolated case but as one that holds good in most states and localities. The most illiterate county in a certain state has graduated only one person from college in its history. Many of the parents and grandparents who have never been inside of a school, and know nothing of its workings, are none too favorably inclined toward it as an institution. They have never become friends or converts to education. No amount of argument will be as powerful to convince them of its merits as the bestowal upon them personally of some of its advantages. If they can be brought into contact with the school as students themselves, can be taught ever so little, their opposition may be removed and their loyalty to the school and their coöperation assured. The key to the educational advancement and welfare of the child of illiterate parents is, in almost every instance, to educate his father and mother. Those who may argue that the time spent in educating adults could better be devoted to the children may be answered with the statement that time devoted to enlightening parents *is being devoted to the children*. Anything that breaks down prejudice toward education, toward study, teachers, and school, and that surrounds the child with an atmosphere of understanding of his school problems is conducive to his development. There are counties and districts that have reported 20 per cent, 30 per cent, and 40 per cent increase in school attendance as the results of reducing adult illiteracy, and there are various cases on record where parents redeemed from illiteracy have provided schoolbooks more generously, made sacrifices to keep the children

in school, and have given assistance and coöperation which was not possible to secure from them before.

The effect of illiteracy on commerce cannot be measured. It has been glimpsed to the extent that book and stationery stores, newspapers, magazines, and all who deal in paper and printed supplies, pens, pencils, and ink are barred almost entirely from trade with five million people in this country. But the loss to trade of the patronage of this class is not confined to the above by any means. The moving pictures, the railroads, the factories, the department stores, all lose their proportion of trade because illiterates are not travelers or buyers of luxuries — as a rule. The moving pictures, for instance, lose half their value to such people when *printed* titles are flashed on the screen. From the pulp factories of Maine to the orange groves of Florida there are dealers who are losing thousands of dollars because of illiteracy. Its victims buy only the coarser commodities. Paper and books, paintings, and fine fruits do not often find their way into their homes.

Labor is affected no less than commerce by this evil. This is an age of print. Instructions and warnings, danger signals and "safety first" slogans, are all presented in printed form, but they afford no protection whatever for the illiterate man. In the cities, in factories, he is endangered more than the literate laborer, and on the farm with its machinery he is still endangered, because the unlettered man is notably clumsy and awkward and is more likely to injure himself, as well as to destroy the machinery, than one who has some education. One of the problems of the illiterate laborer, however, is the fact that he is rapidly being shut off from employment of certain kinds. Where possible to supply his place with educated labor, employers are doing so and leaving him to find some more menial place. His chance for employment is, therefore, growing less and less, making his need for education all the more imperative.

The improvement of health conditions is now one of the organized and important activities of every state, as well as of the Federal government, and is fast becoming the program of every school. It is a work that is carried on largely by printed literature, especially the governmental portion of it; but printed propaganda, which is being sent out in tremendous lots, is available only to the educated,

leaving the illiterates practically uninformed as to the precautions of sanitation and the prevention of disease. Trachoma, hookworm, typhoid, tuberculosis, and other preventable diseases often make illiterate localities their breeding places and thus endanger the health of the educated, despite their enlightenment and precaution. Doctors relate of conditions among illiterates that their skill and knowledge are powerless to overcome. School nurses and teachers report that sickness is prevalent and infant mortality high in all sections where education is lacking, and vital statistics tell their own story of the percentage of disease and the death rate in such centers. Physical education has become a part of the school curriculum in many states, school nurses are at work in hundreds of counties, and such improvement as can be made with the intelligent coöperation of parents has been brought about, but "ignorance cannot coöperate." No health program can succeed and no child is safe where it exists. It is significant that Iowa, the state that leads in literacy, leads in the health of her school children.

58. EDUCATION THE FOUNDATION OF DEMOCRACY¹

George Washington said :

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

Washington believed the government should share in the responsibility of providing educational opportunities for the people. He advocated a national university — and, as a means to that end, left a substantial sum to aid in establishing such an institution. The World War revealed conditions which showed that we had not fully appreciated Washington's ideals and advice as to the primary importance of education, and, strange as it may seem, we have even lost track of the funds which he left for a national university.

Thomas Jefferson constantly urged the importance of education. He did not think the nation could exist half illiterate. He said:

¹ From J. W. Crahtrec, "Education the Foundation of Democracy," in *School and Society*, Vol. 16, pages 617-618 (December 2, 1922). Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

Above all things I hope the education of the common people will be attended to. I am convinced that on this good sense we may rely with the most security for the preservation of a due degree of liberty.

If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be. . . . There is no safe deposit (for the functions of government) but with people themselves; nor can they be safe with them without information.

Jefferson made a determined effort for free schools in Virginia, from the primary grade through the university, but his ideals proved to be many years in advance of the ideals of the people of his state.

John Jay, the first chief justice of the United States, did not fail to see that education is the rock on which our government rests. He declared that knowledge is the soul of the Republic:

As the weak and the wicked are generally in alliance, as much care should be taken to diminish the number of the former as of the latter. Education is the way to do this, and nothing should be left undone to afford all ranks of people the means of obtaining a proper degree of it at a cheap and easy rate.

James Madison believed education absolutely necessary to popular government. He never lost an opportunity to impress the people with the dangers of ignorance. He said:

A popular government without popular information, or the means of acquiring it, is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy, or, perhaps both. Knowledge will forever govern ignorance; and a people who mean to be their governors must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives.

John Adams was especially insistent on viewing education as a function of the public and the government. He realized the cost of an adequate system of public instruction but maintained that no expense for this purpose would be too great:

Laws for the liberal education of youth, especially of the lower classes of people, are so extremely wise and useful that, to a humane and generous mind, no expense for this purpose would be thought extravagant.

. . . I have not believed it possible to communicate with departed souls, but if it were possible, I should hope that no one would be ungrateful enough to tell Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Jay, or Adams that the United States has, at the present time, the highest percentage of illiteracy of the leading enlightened nations of the

world. I am almost ashamed to mention the fact to the descendants of the distinguished men of the Revolutionary period. The following shows the percentages of illiteracy in six of these nations: Germany, .2; Norway, 1.0; Sweden, 1.0; England, 1.8; France, 4.9; and the United States, 6.0. I do not like to say so, nevertheless it is true, that if you multiply Germany's percentage by 30, you will have the figure showing the percentage of illiteracy in the United States.

59. THE CONSTITUTION, CONGRESS, AND THE SCHOOLS¹

For several years there has been an active movement to create a federal Department of Education, and it is usually urged that the head of the department be made a member of the President's Cabinet. The measure has earnest adherents and vigorous opponents. Of its practical merits and demerits it may be observed that it is as true of this as of most public issues that "there is much to be said on both sides."

The opponents of the proposed plan contend that it is unconstitutional. The argument is that Congress has power only over designated subject matters, and that education is not one of them. Powers not delegated to Congress are reserved to the States. Power over education is not delegated to Congress. Therefore it is reserved to the states. Q. E. D.

Unfortunately the issue is not so simple as this. Power over agriculture is not delegated to Congress. Nevertheless, we have a Department of Agriculture, and the Secretary of Agriculture has a seat in the Cabinet. We have what are called state agricultural colleges, but these colleges receive annual gifts from the United States and many of them would suffer seriously if federal aid were withdrawn. The scientific work done under the auspices of the United States or with the financial aid of the United States has been of immense aid to the agriculture of the country. Yet how can it be that Congress can do these things for agriculture and for agricultural education if Congress does not possess power under the Constitution to regulate agriculture?

¹From Thomas Reed Powell, in *The Scholastic* (April 3, 1926). Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

The answer is that the power of Congress to appropriate money is broader than its power to regulate. The Constitution says that "The Congress shall have Power to lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defense and General Welfare of the United States." Though in our early history it was contended by some that Congress may not appropriate money in aid of a purpose not within its direct regulatory power, this was vigorously denied by others. Whatever the relative merit of the contending arguments, Congress has in fact often aided enterprises which it could not regulate.

The question of the constitutional propriety of such expenditures was raised in the Supreme Court a few years ago in objections to the so-called Maternity Act. This statute appropriates funds of the United States to cooperate with the several states to reduce maternal and infant mortality and to protect the health of mothers and babies. Federal money goes only to states which accept the plan and join in making contributions. A federal bureau cooperates with state officials, and this bureau may withhold federal funds whenever it finds that the work in any state is not properly performed.

This case raised squarely the constitutional issue, but the Supreme Court did not pass upon it. It decided that neither a State nor a taxpayer of the United States has any standing in court to raise such an issue. This means that so long as federal officials go ahead and expend the appropriations of Congress, no one can question whether they are for a proper purpose. Thus it is likely that we shall never have a Supreme Court decision interpreting this important clause of the Constitution as to the purposes for which the United States may expend its funds. The issue will continue to be settled by political practice as it has been settled hitherto. If by chance the issue should in some way get to the Supreme Court, it is unthinkable that the judges would put an end to the system of federal aid which has so long been in actual operation.

A different question would be raised if Congress should restrict national expenditures for agriculture or for education on the basis of conditions which have nothing to do with agriculture or education. The power of the purse may operate in fact as a regulatory power, though it is not one in theory. States might be so anxious for federal

aid that they would comply with all sorts of conditions to get it. As a matter of constitutional morality, it would clearly be opposed to the spirit of the Constitution to confine federal expenditures to those states which should elect governors of a designated political party or should have the type of divorce law specified by Congress. Any conditions on receiving federal funds for education should be confined to matters related closely to education. Congress should not use gifts for one purpose as a bait to induce the states to comply with its desires on other purposes. This would in all substance be unconstitutional, even though it might not be possible to bring the issue to the Supreme Court.

60. SHALL WE HAVE A SECRETARY OF EDUCATION?¹

RESOLVED: *That the United States should have a Department of Education with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet.*

AFFIRMATIVE BRIEF

1. The present educational policy of the United States is totally inadequate.
 - A. The Bureau of Education is dependent on an unrelated department and has not sufficient expert personnel or appropriations.
 - B. Education should be given the prestige and support accorded to a Cabinet department.
 - C. Other great nations have found the policy of a centralized ministry of education advantageous.
2. The United States is faced with serious educational defects which can only be met by national action.
 - A. Illiteracy.
 - B. Large unassimilated foreign groups.
 - C. Poor physical condition of people.
 - D. Lack of competent teachers.
 - E. Inequality of state and rural schools.

¹ From "An Informal Debate," in *The Scholastic* (April 3, 1926). Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

3. Such a policy would be both constitutional and fundamentally democratic.
 - A. It would not deprive the states of their just powers and responsibilities for education.
 - B. The Curtis-Reed bill removes all possible danger of federal control.
 - C. It would give every American child an equal chance for an education.

NEGATIVE BRIEF

1. A Federal Department of Education is unnecessary.
 - A. The present Bureau of Education can fulfill all the educational functions that should be exercised by the Federal Government.
2. The educational defects of the nation are being satisfactorily remedied by state and local action and by private agencies.
 - A. Illiteracy is being steadily reduced.
 - B. Foreign groups are being Americanized.
 - C. Health conditions are being improved.
 - D. The states are raising the standards of qualification of teachers and raising salary scales.
 - E. Backward districts are receiving special attention.
3. Such a policy is unconstitutional and undemocratic.
 - A. It would tend to set up bureaucratic control of the schools from Washington.
 - B. It would put politics in education.
 - C. It would undermine the rights of religious denominations to administer their own systems of education.
 - D. The Curtis-Reed bill, if passed, would be only the first step toward a dangerous federal educational machine. All the bad provisions of the Smith-Towner bill and its successors would soon be revived.
 - E. It would penalize the progressive and prosperous states in favor of the poor and backward states.

HISTORY OF THE DEPARTMENT IDEA

An independent Department of Education was actually established in 1867 under a bill presented by Congressman (later President) Garfield, supported by Charles Sumner. It never got thoroughly established, but was abolished two years later and its functions transferred to a bureau in the Department of the Interior, where it has remained ever since.

After that the movement languished until 1918, when the National Education Association appointed a "Commission on the Emergency in Education," which drafted a bill for a Federal Department and secured the backing of Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia and Representative Horace M. Towner of Iowa. The Smith-Towner bill, introduced in the Sixty-sixth Congress, underwent various revisions and was favorably reported by both the House and Senate Committees on Education, but did not come to a vote. In various incarnations it has reappeared in every subsequent session. In the Sixty-seventh Congress (1921-23) it was the Towner-Sterling bill; in the Sixty-eighth Congress, the Sterling-Reed bill; and in the Sixty-ninth Congress, the Curtis-Reed bill.

The Towner-Sterling bill, typical of all these proposals until the present one, called for not only the creation of a Department of Education, but the appropriation of \$100,000,000 for coöperation with the several states in instruction of illiterates, Americanization of immigrants, partial payment of teachers' salaries in poor and backward rural districts, teacher training, and physical education. This sum was to be available for apportionment to those states which met certain legal requirements, as a 24-week school term, a compulsory attendance law, and English as the basic language of instruction, and which appropriated an equal sum from state revenues for the same purposes. The states were to report annually to the Secretary of Education, but the management of the school systems was to remain with the states.

THE NEW BILL

Criticism of the federal aid features of the various bills has been so strong that the Legislative Committee of the National Education Association, headed by Dr. George W. Strayer, professor of educa-

tion in Teachers College, Columbia University, decided to try a new tack in the present session. The Curtis-Reed bill has eliminated any provision for federal aid to the states. It would set up a Secretary of Education in the Cabinet at \$15,000 a year, with an assistant secretary at \$7500, and an appropriation of \$1,500,000 for the expenses of the department. It would centralize under one head the present activities of the Bureau of Education (Department of the Interior), the Federal Board for Vocational Education (an independent body), the Columbia Institution for the Deaf, and Howard University, the Negro institution at Washington. It would create a Federal Conference on Education to coördinate the educational activities of the various executive departments, consisting of one representative from each.

The opposition to the Federal Department bills has come mainly from two sources: the heads of many of the leading universities, including Presidents Eliot and Lowell of Harvard, Hadley of Yale, Woodrow Wilson of Princeton, Judson of Chicago, Butler of Columbia, and Goodnow of Johns Hopkins; and the Catholic and Lutheran churches, which fear the encroachments of federal control on their systems of parochial schools. There have, of course, been outspoken opponents in Congress, such as Senators Borah and Wadsworth. On the other hand, the movement has had the support of the majority of leaders of professional education in state and municipal positions, and of the rank and file of teachers.

It may be wondered why the present Bureau of Education cannot meet the situation. It might, if adequately supported, but its appropriations for all purposes are less than \$500,000 a year, half of which has to go to such non-educational functions with which it is saddled as the reindeer industry of Alaska. It cannot begin to make the statistical and experimental studies it should of many complex problems that are now neglected by national agencies. To give education the prominence and independence it deserves as a function of government, it is claimed that a Cabinet Department is the only solution. Some have opposed an increased Cabinet as unwieldy, but England has a much larger Cabinet, and the United States is the only major country today that does not have a minister of education in its Cabinet.

WEAKNESSES OF AMERICAN EDUCATION

That there are serious shortcomings in our American educational system is denied by no informed person. Among the evils pointed out as requiring federal action for adequate remedy are the following :

1. *Illiteracy.* By the Census of 1920 there were in the United States 4,931,095 persons over ten years of age who were unable to write or read, or exactly 6 per cent of the total group.

2. *Americanization.* The large foreign-born population of the United States (nearly 15,000,000) and the even larger number of native-born of foreign parentage plainly constitute a serious educational problem.

3. *Qualifications of Teachers.* More than half the public school teachers in many of the states have had less than a high school education, and the percentage having at least two years of college or a normal school education is considerably less. In several of the Southern states the majority of teachers are scarcely more than boys and girls themselves, who have never gone beyond the eighth grade in schooling. These conditions pertain, of course, largely to rural districts. The inadequacy of teachers' salaries, which makes it doubly difficult to obtain competent teachers, is a grave problem, although salaries since the war have been improved. But the average teacher's salary in the United States is still only \$900 a year, and in half the states it is less than \$600.

61. WHAT CHILDREN WHO LEAVE SCHOOL REALLY NEED¹

In an intensive study of 302 children who applied for their working papers it was found that not more than 20 per cent of them had left through economic pressure within the home. The group studied is said to be fairly typical of the whole 20,000 who annually take out their labor certificates in New York. To understand what induces the greater number to leave school, says the report, we must understand the attitude of the parents and children toward the school. The most striking thing in this attitude is declared to be their apathy. To quote :

¹ From *The Survey*, Vol. 30, pages 273-274 (May 24, 1913). Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

More than two thirds of the children and more than three fourths of the parents had no conviction that it was worth while to spend more time in school. To parents whose whole life is encompassed by steady daily toil, school often seemed a thing apart, outside; it was not a basic necessity of their lives. "It is nice to learn," one mother said; but this learning to her mind did not belong to the life of her boy. She could not understand that it was worth a sacrifice to keep him there. On the other hand, some children were restless; some felt too big for school; many passively took it for granted that the age of fourteen was the appropriate time to leave; more of them suddenly wanted to work, they wanted the activity of it, the change of it, the responsibility of it; they felt the approach of maturity, and wanted to earn money and begin to take part in the real life of the world.

Yet these children were not subnormal; their parents were not "immigrants of low type"; nor had the children reached the "limit of development" at the age of fourteen. 84 per cent of the fathers of this group were foreign born, but of these 73 per cent had been in this country more than ten years; and 71 per cent spoke English.

What becomes of those who leave at fourteen? The investigators followed up 239 who actually went to work. Several months after taking out their papers they had had, all told, 406 jobs. Of these, 94 were "outside" errands; 19 were "on wagons"; 16 at news stands; 29 in department stores; 27 in office work; 44 in miscellaneous inside work; and 177 in manufacturing.

In all this complexity, [says the report] only one thing remained constant — the lack of training. It ran through practically all jobs, whatever the type of establishment, and left them all the same dull-gray color. In 314 out of the 406 jobs there was absolutely no training; in 41, there was some chance to "pick up" if the rush was not too great; in 30, some boys had a chance to work on one process, but this usually meant, "I did errands and sweeping and sometimes had a chance to work on a machine"; in 21, there was some supervision, but in the majority of these cases the children were either working in a small shop or with relatives.

THE DANGER OF FINDING JOBS

In the light of these facts, the survey reached the following conclusions with regard to vocational guidance in public elementary schools in New York :

1. A system of vocational guidance which would mean finding jobs for children under 16 would be not only futile but dangerously near exploitation, however well meant the intention might be. The facts showed, broadly

speaking, that there are no jobs for children under 16 which they ought to take.

2. It is useless to attempt to guide children into "vocations" before we have more information. Neither the Vocational Education Survey nor any other organization has adequate information at present about the demand for workers or the opportunities for and conditions of work and training in the twenty largest industries, not to mention the legion of minor ones.

What the children want is vocational training. The kernel of truth in this popular movement for vocational guidance is the need of vocational training for children. Vocational guidance should mean guidance for training, not guidance for jobs. Hence, under present conditions, the interests of public school children can best be served, not by the establishment of a vocation bureau, but by the development of vocational training.

62. THE CHIEF END OF EDUCATION ¹

There is a compact little book known to all Scotchmen, and especially to all sons of Scotchmen of a generation ago. It is called the Shorter Catechism. The first question in that catechism is: "What is Man's Chief End?" And the answer is: "Man's chief end is to glorify God and to enjoy him forever." And this suggests to me an answer to the question, What is the chief end of education? The chief end of education is to develop in man the image of God. To accept any lower definition is to cheapen and stultify the whole business.

I want to say this at the outset, because it furnishes a background and establishes a foundation upon which a really adequate philosophy of education may be built. And I want to emphasize it as strongly as I can, because there are a good many so-called educators who are laying so much stress upon the mechanics of education that they are forgetting altogether the animating spirit without which an education is a barren monotony and an educator a dull dog. Education is really another name for evolution and the goal is the same.

The chief end of evolution, so far as we know it, is to develop man to his highest. What we are mainly concerned with in educa-

¹ From summary of Convocation Address by Charles A. Richmond, in *University of Buffalo Studies*, Vol II, No. 3 (August, 1922).

tion is to help the man to self-realization, to lead him to his inheritance — his promised land.

And this promised land is not bounded by the walls of a factory nor the show window of a shop. It is a place of wide horizons, a place of many and varied interests, a land where there is beauty on every side and where the choice spirits of every age offer us their companionship.

We have recently been astonished at the achievements of wireless telegraphy and telephony. Messages have come direct from amazing distances. We can talk with our friends far out at sea — even across the ocean. But the essential point in all such communication is that the receiver shall be in tune with the sender. This is precisely what education can do and must do for a man. The ether is full of messages sent out by the great minds and souls of the world — in the written word, in paintings and sculptures, in architecture and in music. But no one gets their message unless he is tuned to the sender. The great men of all generations are like the wireless stations set up on the high places of the earth, answering one another across the wide spaces of the air and through the long ages. But what use are they to us if we are not tuned to them? How can they make us hear these wonderful revelations of truth and beauty if there is in us no responding vibration of thought and feeling? What is Homer to the man who has no poetry, and what is Beethoven to the man who has no music in himself, and what is Jesus to the man who has no spiritual aspirations? Rapport is the *sine qua non* of understanding — “The secret of the Lord is with them that fear Him.” Spiritual things are spiritually discerned. The pure in heart see God. Purity answers to purity, spirit to spirit. I think it was Carlyle who said, “I do not wonder at what men suffer, but I wonder often at the things they are willing to miss.”

These are among the tragedies of life. Perhaps it is too much to expect that all men shall become highly sensitive or delicately perceptive, but surely it is the business of education to tune the minds and spirits of men to this higher harmony and this higher wisdom. For certainly it is the birthright of every man. It belongs to the whole world. We cannot make them all hear. Some men fail of their inheritance and may always fail, but this at least will

be the aim of education. To devise deliberately a system of education that will dull the mind and spirit to these voices of God and to make them responsive only to the voices of the market place or the jingle of coin is robbing him of his birthright. And is it not also belittling to his intelligence and degrading to his spirit?

Yet this is what certain influential men are proposing — to narrow his horizon, to reduce the number of his contacts, to shut his eyes to beauty and his ears to sweet sounds, to exclude from the realm of his mind everything that cannot be turned to account in what he calls the practical making of his career, as if the function of a school is merely to turn out slick business men. It is a deadly program. To make any such philosophy the basis of our education, or to allow it to dominate our aims, will be not merely to make this a nation of shop keepers but a nation of greedy, self-seeking, unspiritual men — a nation that will have nothing to contribute to civilization and that will eventually be held in low esteem by every other nation in the world.

63. THE COLLEGE GRADUATE IN POLITICS ¹

Let us illustrate this by the common impression that a college education is a hindrance rather than a help to any one who aspires to be a leader in politics. The college graduate, it is said, wants to begin at the top, or near the top; he does not want to undergo the grueling apprenticeship. He is deficient in social sympathy, tends to be visionary, and does not make a good practical politician. To be a success, therefore, he must live down the fruits of his college training. Ask any one in political life, and if he be not himself a college graduate, he will tell you all this in profound seriousness. But if you make any sort of statistical inquiry into the matter you will soon find that there is no apparent ground for his assertion. Calvin Coolidge has made the statement that the college graduates form less than one per cent of the population, but hold about fifty per cent of the offices. Among the thirty Presidents of the United States no fewer than nineteen have been college graduates; the present Cabinet of ten members contains only two who are not college

¹ From William Bennett Munro, *Personality in Politics*, pages 104-107. The Macmillan Company, New York; 1924. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

graduates; in the Senate of the United States they have regularly numbered a majority and in the House they have usually done so, too. Among governors of states the percentage is substantial, among mayors of cities it is smaller, and in city councils dwindles to almost nothing. In other words, when you go to the lower rungs of the political ladder you find few college graduates, and those that are there do not stay long. But as you move towards the top their numbers increase, and the higher you go the larger proportion of office holders they seem to form. . . .

Another widespread impression concerning education and politics seems also to be without basis. This is the impression that the man who takes high rank in his college studies is seldom heard from in after life, either in politics or in anything else. He disappears after graduation, carrying his bookish learning with him into the ranks of the nobodies. It is the leader in college "activities" who rises to a position of leadership in later life. All this you will be told, if you listen, by many who speak with more assurance than information.

Now it would be quite a task to investigate the academic rank of every college man who has risen to the top in American politics during the past twenty-five years, but if some one had the industry to do it there can be little doubt as to what the results of such an investigation would show. It would in all probability disclose an array of facts which exactly traverses the popular impression. Take just one outstanding illustration: During the twenty years 1901-1921, the United States had three Presidents. All three were university graduates — Roosevelt of Harvard, Taft of Yale, and Wilson of Princeton. All three displayed intellectual qualities of a high order before they were twenty-one years of age. A couple of years ago four distinguished statesmen were named to represent the United States at the Disarmament Conference — Henry Cabot Lodge, Charles E. Hughes, Elihu Root, and Oscar W. Underwood. No one thought it worth while to remark that all four were men who had attained high rank in their college studies. Of course nobody commented on this, for nobody is surprised when a man fulfills the promise of his early days. But when a man attains eminence without having shown ability in his youth, everybody comments upon it.

QUESTIONS

1. What facts were revealed by the Report of the Illiteracy Commission of the National Education Association?
2. What is meant by "Illiteracy begets illiteracy"? Prove that this is true.
3. What are the chief effects of illiteracy?
4. Show that the founders of our government thought that education is the corner stone of democracy.
5. Present the arguments for and against a Department of Education with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet.
6. Why do children leave school? What becomes of those who leave school at fourteen?
7. What type of vocational guidance should we have in public elementary schools?
8. What is the chief end of education?
9. Does college education disqualify a person for political life?
10. Do men of high academic rank make a success in political life? If so, why do we not comment upon the fact?

CHAPTER TEN

STANDARDS OF SOCIAL DISTINCTION

64. THE EARLY CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE TOWARD WORK ¹

6. Now we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received of us.

7. For yourselves know how ye ought to follow us: for we behaved not ourselves disorderly among you;

8. Neither did we eat any man's bread for nought; but wrought with labor and travail night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you:

9. Not because we have not power, but to make ourselves an ensample unto you to follow us.

10. For even when we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat.

11. For we hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly, working not at all, but are busybodies.

12. Now them that are such we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread.

13. But ye, brethren, be not weary in well-doing.

65. ORIGIN OF EUROPEAN SOCIAL CLASSES ²

. . . Still another heritage from the Middle Ages was the division of society into four social classes — the clergy, the feudal nobility, the peasantry, and the bourgeoisie. . . . The *nobles* ("dukes," "counts," "earls," "barons," etc.) were originally professional warriors. Such a class grew up naturally because the common people could not spend their time learning how to wield the lance and the sword, nor could they afford to buy suits of armor, expensive

¹ From St. Paul, in II Thessalonians in : 6-13.

² From Hayes and Moon, *Modern History*, pages 32-34. The Macmillan Company, New York; 1923. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

swords and lances, good horses, and the other equipment of medieval fighters. In the course of time, these professional warriors gained more and more power and wealth. They were an hereditary aristocracy, living at the expense of the common people. Each nobleman was the "lord" of one or more districts, varying in size from a village to a county. The peasants in his district had to pay him certain taxes and do a certain amount of work for him so that he might live without manual labor. When he was not fighting, he spent his time hunting, or feasting, or taking part in tournaments (sham battles). He had servants, lackeys, and soldiers at his command. His castle towered in lordly style above the humble thatched-roofed cottages of his peasants. So proud was he of his social position, that to marry a person not of noble birth was considered a disgrace. The privileged position of the feudal nobles was one of the great problems which modern democracy had to solve.

The *peasantry* was the largest social class. It included all people who tilled the soil. Some of the peasants were free men, like modern farmers. In most countries, however, many of the peasants were "serfs." They could not be bought and sold like slaves, nor could they be deprived of their right to earn a living from the soil. But, on the other hand, they were not really free, inasmuch as they were "attached to the soil"; in other words, they were bound to stay and work on the land, unless they succeeded in running away or in purchasing freedom. Besides, they had to work two or three days a week for their respective feudal "lords," and fulfill various other burdensome obligations. . . .

The fourth social class mentioned above was the *bourgeoisie*. The word means, literally, "town dwellers." The bourgeoisie consisted of merchants, lawyers, brewers, bakers, shoemakers, and artisans generally, who lived in towns and occupied a sort of middle position in the social scale, above the peasantry but below the nobility. At first this class was comparatively weak, because the towns were few and small; but as the towns grew rapidly, the bourgeoisie became very influential. This class took the lead, in modern times, in overthrowing the feudal nobility and establishing democratic government.

66. WHAT MAKES SOCIAL SUPERIORITY? ¹

Even when wealth is the bedrock of superior social status, one's actual rating depends on certain conventional tokens of opulence. Among these are :

Scale of living. An obvious lavishness contributes to high social repute. In dress, furnishings, equipage, and especially entertainment, good form fixes standards which are costly to attain. Any skimping, any sign of concern as to expense, is damning. Phrases like "cheap skate," "A cheap coat makes a cheap man," are charged with contempt for frugal spending. The outworking of the principle of conspicuous costliness appears in the disdain of the useful as compared with the "ornamental," in the value of mere rarity, in the insistence on "stylishness," in the esteem of material form and in the preference for the hand-wrought over the machine-made. People of limited means who aspire to "be somebody" are by this principle forced into a hollow manner of living which sacrifices comforts, even necessities, to show a façade type of expenditure resulting in "Queen Anne front and Mary Ann back."

Abundance of personal service. The rendering of menial service even to one's self degrades. In the old South the planters kept great numbers of house servants to wait upon them. Before the war a Southern representative expressed amazement in Congress on learning that a Northern colleague blacked his own boots, and declared that no "gentleman" could do a thing like that. On the other hand, Abraham Lincoln, on being greeted with "Why, Mr. President, do I find you actually blacking your own boots?" replied, "Well, whose boots should I black?" It was a German philosopher who damned socialism by declaring it would result in universal having-to-black-your-own-boots.

In India the cheapness of servants results in incredible standards of being waited on. A little Anglo-Indian girl at her first tea in England was observed to be weeping. It came out that never before in her life had she been expected to *stir her own tea* ! In the same way the aristocratic spirit of the later Roman Empire showed

¹ From Edward Alsworth Ross, *Principles of Sociology*, pages 350-352. The Century Company, New York; 1920. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

itself in the fact that the men of the senatorial families kept about them an incalculable number of servants, and never appeared in public without a cortège resembling an army. But even today at the older English universities American Rhodes scholars are looked at askance for doing for themselves things which the British student has done for him by his "scout." Incapacity to exist without the services of menials is looked upon as a requisite of gentility.

In South America today no first-class passenger carries his bag between cab and railway coach. In hotel or club the guest is respected by the servants to the degree that he will be waited on. If he does things for himself, he is despised and insulted. The Peruvian lady goes to church attended at a respectful distance by a small servant carrying her prayer book and umbrella. The Argentine astronomer shrinks from looking after and covering his instrument. The American rector of a Peruvian university had to set an example of self-help in order to rid his students of the idea that in their archæological excursions they must take along servants to care for the horses and prepare the meals. Since being served is a mark of gentility, it will be long before South Americans take kindly to the "self-service" cafeterias so popular among us.

Ceremonial cleanness. As means of giving servants enough to do there grow up among the wealthy standards of cleanness which are quite mystical compared with that hatred of dirt which shows itself in the Dutch, Yankee, or Japanese housewife. Thus, in order that his hands may be immaculately clean, the man who tends door in a fine family is kept from the heavier labors of the household. Then he is supplied with a tray to receive the visiting card in order that even his clean hands may not touch it, and finally, the hands which hold the tray are covered with white gloves!

Abstention from all useful employment. Not to have to do anything for a living is signal proof of a fortune exempting one from the common lot. The gentleman may be very busy, but he will be busy with his pleasures, his sports, his hobbies, his philanthropies, his public services; not with gainful pursuits. If he does anything remunerative, it will be work of the desk, not of the tool. The distinction roots, no doubt, in the contrast of intellectual with manual, of plan with performance, of giving orders with taking them. But it

is possible that the age-old scorn of manual labor has sprung in part from its repulsive associations; e.g., sweat, grime, bad odors, ill-kept teeth, uncared-for finger-nails and neglect of the body. If so, it may gain dignity with the appearance of educated, well-paid men who, nevertheless, work with tools. In the well-groomed electrician or engineer who still gets his hands oily, manual labor loses its old offensive associations. If handwork generally were performed by well-read, self-respecting, cleanly people, no doubt the stigma on it could not be sustained. From this point of view, the cheapening and diffusion of the bathtub, the shower bath, underclothing, the toothbrush, the nail scissors, the safety razor, and the leather shoe are democratizing society by sapping the very basis of class distinctions.

67. TOXINS DEVELOPED IN A CONQUEST SOCIETY ¹

With half an eye the sociologist sees that Mexico is narcotized by the toxins developed in a conquest society; viz., *contempt for manual labor, scorn for the useful, and dependence on menial service*. When the train stops, importunate porters invade the first-class coach, each hoping to earn a few centavos by carrying a passenger's bag, for no Mexican gentleman will consent to be seen toting his hand luggage. The contrast with passengers on our trains, who know nothing of such porters save the few unobtrusive "redcaps" at our great stations, is most instructive. It will be long before Mexicans, with their artificial craving to be waited on, will take to the economical self-service "automats," "cafeterias," and "gro-ceterias" which are spreading among us. Abundance of servants has made most upper-class Mexicans spiritual cripples, morally incapable of looking after themselves.

As in Cuba, the Philippines, and other heirs of Spain, the stigma on labor which soils the hands leads to a crowding of the clean-cuff occupations, with the result that the country is "long" on clerks and "short" on skilled mechanics. The demand for clerical jobs, no matter how ill paid or insecure, loads the government depart-

¹ From Edward Alsworth Ross, *The Social Revolution in Mexico*, pages 28-29. The Century Company, New York; 1923. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

ments with a horde of needless functionaries. A Carranza minister told me that on taking his portfolio he found in his department 121 employees. He gradually cut the force down to 40 and they gave better service than the 121 had.

Even in the industrial schools, where eager young people are gaining all manner of skill, the *penchant* for making the ornamental rather than the useful reveals the historic prejudice. The toxins generated in a colony made up of masters and slaves so saturate what may be called the nerve centers of society, that is, its *valuations and ideals*, that it may take generations to be rid of them. Something may be hoped from a wholesome emphasis on school training for useful work. Nothing, however, would clear away these soul poisons so quickly as a large immigration of bona-fide American farmers, who, aided by machinery, would do their own work rather than hire it done for them by cheap peons.

68. THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSPICUOUS WASTE¹

We have a realizing sense of ceremonial uncleanness attaching in an especial degree to the occupations which are associated in our habits of thought with menial service. It is felt by all persons of refined taste that a spiritual contamination is inseparable from certain offices that are conventionally required of servants. Vulgar surroundings, mean (that is to say, inexpensive) habitations, and vulgarly productive occupations are unhesitatingly condemned and avoided. They are incompatible with life on a satisfactory spiritual plane — with “high thinking.” From the days of the Greek philosophers to the present, a degree of leisure and of exemption from contact with such industrial processes as serve the immediate everyday purposes of human life has ever been recognized by thoughtful men as a prerequisite to a worthy or beautiful, or even a blameless, human life. In itself and in its consequences the life of leisure is beautiful and ennobling in all civilized men’s eyes. . . .

The criteria of a past performance of leisure therefore commonly take the form of “immaterial” goods. Such immaterial evidences

¹ From Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, pages 37-38, 45-46, 87, 116-118, 131-132. The Viking Press, New York; 1912. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

of past leisure are quasi-scholarly or quasi-artistic accomplishments and a knowledge of processes and incidents which do not conduce directly to the furtherance of human life. So, for instance, in our time there is the knowledge of the dead languages and the occult sciences; of correct spelling; of syntax and prosody; of the various forms of domestic music and other household art; of the latest proprieties of dress, furniture, and equipage; of games, sports, and fancy-bred animals, such as dogs and race horses. In all these branches of knowledge the initial motive from which their acquisition proceeded at the outset, and through which they first came into vogue, may have been something quite different from the wish to show that one's time had not been spent in industrial employment; but unless these accomplishments had approved themselves as serviceable evidence of an unproductive expenditure of time, they would not have survived and held their place as conventional accomplishments of the leisure class.

These accomplishments may, in some sense, be classed as branches of learning. Beside and beyond these there is a further range of social facts which shade off from the region of learning into that of physical habit and dexterity. Such are what is known as manners and breeding, polite usage, decorum, and formal and ceremonial observances generally. . . .

The only practicable means of impressing one's pecuniary ability on unsympathetic observers of one's everyday life is an unremitting demonstration of ability to pay. In the modern community there is also a more frequent attendance at large gatherings of people to whom one's everyday life is unknown, in such places as churches, theaters, ballrooms, hotels, parks, shops, and the like. In order to impress these transient observers, and to retain one's self-complacency under their observation, the signature of one's pecuniary strength should be written in characters which he who runs may read. It is evident, therefore, that the present trend of the development is in the direction of heightening the utility of conspicuous consumption as compared with leisure. . . .

The principle of conspicuous waste guides the formation of habits of thought as to what is honest and reputable in life and in commodities. In so doing, this principle will traverse other norms of

conduct which do not primarily have to do with the code of pecuniary honor, but which have, directly or incidentally, an economic significance of some magnitude. So the canon of honorific waste may, immediately or remotely, influence the sense of duty, the sense of beauty, the sense of utility, the sense of devotional or ritualistic fitness, and the scientific sense of truth.

. . . In modern communities, where the dominant economic and legal feature of the community's life is the institution of private property, one of the salient features of the code of morals is the sacredness of property. There needs no insistence or illustration to gain assent to the proposition that the habit of holding private property inviolate, is traversed by the other habit of seeking wealth for the sake of the good repute to be gained through its conspicuous consumption. Most offenses against property, especially offenses of an appreciable magnitude, come under this head. It is also a matter of common notoriety and byword that in offenses which result in a large accession of property to the offender he does not ordinarily incur the extreme penalty or the extreme obloquy with which his offense would be visited on the ground of the naïve moral code alone. The thief or swindler who has gained great wealth by his delinquency has a better chance than the small thief of escaping the rigorous penalty of the law; and some good repute accrues to him from his increased wealth and from his spending the irregularly acquired possessions in a seemly manner. A well-bred expenditure of his booty especially appeals with great effect to persons of a cultivated sense of the proprieties, and goes far to mitigate the sense of moral turpitude with which his dereliction is viewed by them. It may be noted also — and it is more immediately to the point — that we are all inclined to condone an offense against property in the case of a man whose motive is the worthy one of providing the means of a "decent" manner of life for his wife and children. If it is added that the wife has been "nurtured in the lap of luxury," that is accepted as an additional extenuating circumstance. That is to say, we are prone to condone such an offense where its aim is the honorific one of enabling the offender's wife to perform for him such an amount of vicarious consumption of time and substance as is demanded by the standard of pecuniary decency. In such a case the

habit of approving the accustomed degree of conspicuous waste traverses the habit of deprecating violations of ownership, to the extent even of sometimes leaving the award of praise or blame uncertain. This is peculiarly true where the dereliction involves an appreciable predatory or piratical element. . . .

We readily, and for the most part with utter sincerity, find those things pleasant that are in vogue. Shaggy dress stuffs and pronounced color effects, for instance, offend us at times when the vogue is goods of a high, glossy finish and neutral colors. A fancy bonnet of this year's model unquestionably appeals to our sensibilities today much more forcibly than an equally fancy bonnet of the model of last year; although when viewed in the perspective of a quarter of a century, it would, I apprehend, be a matter of the utmost difficulty to award the palm for intrinsic beauty to the one rather than to the other of these structures. So, again, it may be remarked that, considered simply in their physical juxtaposition with the human form, the high gloss of a gentleman's hat or of a patent-leather shoe has no more of intrinsic beauty than a similarly high gloss on a threadbare sleeve; and yet there is no question but that all well-bred people (in the Occidental civilized communities) instinctively and unaffectedly cleave to the one as a phenomenon of great beauty, and eschew the other as offensive to every sense to which it can appeal. It is extremely doubtful if any one could be induced to wear such a contrivance as a high hat of civilized society, except for some urgent reason based on other than æsthetic grounds.

69. THE CHIEF FUNCTION OF DRESS¹

The function of dress as an evidence of ability to pay does not end with simply showing that the wearer consumes valuable goods in excess of what is required for physical comfort. Simple conspicuous waste of goods is effective and gratifying as far as it goes; it is good *prima facie* evidence of social worth. But dress has subtler and more far-reaching possibilities than this crude, first-hand evidence

¹ From Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, pages 169-172. The Viking Press, New York; 1912. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

of wasteful consumption only. If, in addition to showing that the wearer can afford to consume freely and uneconomically, it can also be shown in the same stroke that he or she is not under the necessity of earning a livelihood, the evidence of social worth is enhanced in a very considerable degree. Our dress, therefore, in order to serve its purpose effectually, should not only be expensive, but it should also make plain to all observers that the wearer is not engaged in any kind of productive labor. In the evolutionary process by which our system of dress has been elaborated into its present admirably perfect adaptation to its purpose, this subsidiary line of evidence has received due attention. A detailed examination of what passes in popular apprehension for elegant apparel will show that it is contrived at every point to convey the impression that the wearer does not habitually put forth any useful effort. It goes without saying that no apparel can be considered elegant, or even decent, if it shows the effect of manual labor on the part of the wearer, in the way of soil or wear. The pleasing effect of neat and spotless garments is chiefly, if not altogether, due to their carrying the suggestion of leisure — exemption from personal contact with industrial processes of any kind. Much of the charm that invests the patent-leather shoe, the stainless linen, the lustrous cylindrical hat, and the walking stick, which so greatly enhance the native dignity of a gentleman, comes of their pointedly suggesting that the wearer cannot when so attired bear a hand in any employment that is directly and immediately of any human use. . . .

The dress of women goes even farther than that of men in the way of demonstrating the wearer's abstinence from productive employment. It needs no argument to enforce the generalization that the more elegant styles of feminine bonnets go even farther towards making work impossible than does the man's high hat. The woman's shoe adds the so-called French heel to the evidence of enforced leisure afforded by its polish; because this high heel obviously makes any, even the simplest and most necessary manual work, extremely difficult. The like is true even in a higher degree of the skirt and the rest of the drapery which characterizes woman's dress. The substantial reason for our tenacious attachment to the skirt is just this: it is expensive and it hampers the wearer at every turn and in-

capacitates her for all useful exertion. The like is true of the feminine custom of wearing the hair excessively long.

But the woman's apparel not only goes beyond that of the modern man in the degree in which it argues exemption from labor; it also adds a peculiar and highly characteristic feature which differs in kind from anything habitually practiced by the men. This is the class of contrivances of which the corset is the typical example. The corset is, in economic theory, substantially a mutilation, undergone for the purpose of lowering the subject's vitality and rendering her permanently and obviously unfit for work. It is true, the corset impairs the personal attractions of the wearer, but the loss suffered on that score is offset by the gain in reputability which comes of her visibly increased expensiveness and infirmity. It may broadly be set down that the womanliness of woman's apparel resolves itself, in point of substantial fact, into the more effective hindrance to useful exertion offered by the garments peculiar to women.

70. THE INHERITED STIGMA ON LABOR ¹

Human nature is still struggling with the fallacy, born in the days when all manual labor was performed by slaves, that work with the hands is the task of an inferior man. We have come a long ways in the advancement of civilization since the shackled galley slave bent to his task in the ships of Phoenicia, but the attitude of mind which looks upon all work with the hands as more or less menial and degrading still exists. Before us lies the task of ending this contempt for honest work, of eliminating that centuries-old struggle for the dignity and honor of labor which began when the Carpenter of Nazareth wrought with adze and saw in the house of his foster father. . . . Today we face the necessity of establishing the dignity of labor in the minds of all mankind. Unless we shall accomplish this, we will fail in our duty to civilization.

We have built up in America a great system of education, and we have provided that every child must receive its share of schooling.

¹ From Secretary James J. Davis's address before the National Society of Vocational Education, at Buffalo, in December, 1923.

We have been at work for more than a century building up this system, but in our building we have overlooked one vital factor. We have stressed too much the purely academic in our instruction, we have been too prone to accept education of the mind alone as the ideal. Today we are realizing our mistake, for we find that we are turning out ninety per cent of our youth equipped only for the so-called white-collar occupations, which can provide places for only ten per cent of them. While our young men and women leave our schools to crowd into the skyscraping office buildings which line the street cañons of our great cities, our industries are clamoring for workers. They need men and women trained not in mind alone, but in head and heart and hand. We cannot continue to keep America in the vanguard of civilization if we permit the American people to become exclusively "a white-collar" people. . . .

71. THE STRENUOUS LIFE ¹

. . . I wish to preach, not the doctrine of ignoble ease, but the doctrine of the strenuous life, the life of toil and effort, of labor and strife; to preach that highest form of labor success which comes not to the man who desires mere easy peace, but to the man who does not shrink from danger, from hardship, or from bitter toil, and who out of these wins the splendid ultimate triumph.

A life of ignoble ease, a life of that peace which springs merely from lack either of desire or of power to strive after great things, is as little worthy of a nation as of an individual. I ask only that what every self-respecting American demands from himself and from his sons shall be demanded of the American nation as a whole. Who among you would teach your boys that ease, that peace, is to be the first consideration in their eyes — to be the ultimate goal after which they strive?

You work yourselves, and you bring up your sons to work. If you are rich and are worth your salt, you will teach your sons that though they may have leisure it is not to be spent in idleness; for wisely used leisure merely means that those who possess it, being

¹ From Theodore Roosevelt's speech on national questions, delivered at Chicago, April 10, 1899.

free from the necessity of working for their livelihood, are all the more bound to carry on some kind of non-remunerative work in science, in letters, in art, in exploration, in historical research-work of the type we most need in this country, the successful carrying out of which reflects most honor upon the nation. . . .

Freedom from effort in the present, merely means that there has been stored up effort in the past. A man can be freed from the necessity of work only by the fact that he or his fathers before him have worked to good purpose. If the freedom thus purchased is used aright, and the man still does actual work, though of a different kind, whether as a writer or a General, whether in the field of politics or in the field of exploration and adventure, he shows he deserves his fortune. But if he treats this period of freedom from the need of actual labor as a period not of preparation, but of mere enjoyment, even though perhaps not of vicious enjoyment, he shows that he is simply a cumberer on the earth's surface; and he surely unfits himself to hold his own with his fellows, if the need to do so should again arise. A mere life of ease is not in the end a very satisfactory life, and, above all, it is a life which ultimately unfits those who follow it for serious work in the world. . . .

No country can long endure if its foundations are not laid deep in the material prosperity which comes from thrift, from business energy and enterprise, from hard unsparing effort in the fields of industrial activity, but neither was any nation ever yet truly great if it relied upon material prosperity alone. All honor must be paid to the architects of our material prosperity; to the great captains of industry who have built our factories and our railroads; to the strong men who toil for wealth with brain or hand, for great is the debt of the nation to these and their kind. But our debt is yet greater to the men whose highest type is to be found in a statesman like Lincoln, a soldier like Grant. They showed by their lives that they recognized the law of work, the law of strife; they toiled to win a competence for themselves and those dependent upon them, but they recognized that there were yet other and even loftier duties — duties to the nation and duties to the race.

72. THE LIFE OF SERVICE¹

. . . If the word and thought of service are to be rehabilitated, we must have new criterions of service. We cannot set apart the word for those who give food to the body and withhold it from those who give food to the mind. We cannot reserve it for those who help the sick and deny it to those who help the well. Service does not cease to be service when the intelligent and the strong are assisted. We cannot consecrate the word for ministers and teachers merely because they work for a smaller wage than presidents of railroads and singers in grand opera. Service does not cease to be service when it is remunerated. On the contrary, the world, as it grows wiser, will steadily insist on rewarding more amply all those who know how to provide what it wants. Deep in the heart of the world is a passion for discovering a larger and better life for all the people in the world, not even excluding the intellectual and other privileged classes; and every one who assists in any way at that discovery does honorable service. Furthermore, whoever bends his full strength to increasing the healthy and pleasurable life of men, sooner or later will find in his work, whatever it is, something of the peace and satisfaction of religious devotion.

In the days of one's youth, however, in one's period of apprenticeship, it is of far more importance to make oneself an effective instrument than it is to know precisely how and where the instrument is going to be employed. Temper the iron; sharpen the blade; and rest assured that the world will use you by and by. Good workmen eager for a part in the building of civilization will not worry much about where they are to be sent; they will desire only to be sent where they can be used most effectively. And they will not, for example, foolishly set off the "service" of a good missionary against the usefulness of a good dressmaker. A really skillful dressmaker, I fancy, could wipe away as many tears from human eyes as any sister of charity.

The opposite of a life of service is not any form of happy activity,

¹ From Stuart P. Sherman, "Vocation," in *The Scholastic*, pages 7, 13 (September 1, 1924). Reprinted by special arrangement with Charles Scribner's Sons, publishers of Mr. Sherman's essays.

but a slack, idle, joyless, half-hearted, shrinking life. There are numerous so-called good people who go about to do good in such a crabbed, peevish, and melancholy fashion that contact with them makes the day bitter and burdensome. There are, on the other hand, persons gay and nonchalant, who never seem to give a thought to the "still sad music of humanity"; and yet one feels in their presence something better than a sermon, better than medicine, better than alms — one feels a current of energy and joy, one feels new power and incentive within oneself. Such persons confer a favor on mankind merely by being alive. They add directly to the sum of human happiness. They add to the goodness of life. Theirs is perhaps the rarest and most precious form of service, the most beautiful of vocations. . . .

Failure to recognize how near at hand and how rich and various the fields of service are is responsible for much of the unhappiness and unrest which many young people feel between the ages of twenty and twenty-five. It is customary for old people to add to the confusion of the young by talking to them about the happiness of youth. They say, amiable but sentimental graybeards say, to a youth of twenty: "Enjoy yourself now while you can. You are now in the happiest years of your life." If I were addressing an audience on the verge of twenty, I should say: Distrust these sentimental old people. Don't believe a word of all this. In all probability your most happy and fruitful days are still to come. If you gird yourselves now strictly and austere for the tasks of springtime, it is more than likely that after the age of twenty-five you will find the years growing, for all their shocks and accidents, steadily richer and sweeter in their main substance, to the end. I think it hardly doubtful that most of you are now, in the early twenties, in your most restless and unhappy period. Why? Well, for a most interesting reason: because, as Emerson says, "All young persons thirst for a real existence for an object — for something great and good which they shall do with their heart."

You are at precisely the period when one casts about most earnestly for something great and good to do with one's heart. You have considered many possibilities, yet you hang in the doldrums of indecision. As yet, you have not found any object within your

reach which seems great and good enough to command a life's devotion. You sigh for definite objects which you know are not for you, or you seethe with vague desires for dim unattainable things. You are unhappy because you still stand with arms wide-outstretched to embrace the infinite. You have not yet soberly reflected upon the elementary physical and spiritual truth that it is only by closing your arms and resolutely shutting most of the infinite out that you can really embrace and keep anything. You have not yet taken to heart the great maxim of Goethe: "It is within limits that the master first shows his mastership." You are still fighting against that law of nature which fixes the pain of choice as the cost of every practical step forward.

Meanwhile you hear from men of a certain narrow intensity a disquieting summons to a self-sacrificing life of service, a summons to precisely the form of service in which these "dreadful summoners" have themselves attained the fullest self-realization. While you are under the spell of their exhortation, the definite things at hand which you can now do well, or which you are now learning to do well, seem small and humdrum and mean. And some of you, perhaps, with a real talent for millinery or landscape gardening are considering whether you ought not to renounce these talents and go to China as medical missionaries. And some of you with a talent for chemical investigation or stock breeding are wondering whether you ought not to renounce these talents, and, chanting the old song, "Nothing in my hands I bring," devote yourselves to spreading the gospel among the Buddhists. A great many more of you, I suppose, have a beautiful genius for an occupation more various than that of Leonardo da Vinci and the many-sided men of the Renaissance. I mean the occupation of domestic managership, including in one endlessly versatile person the professions of wife, mother, nurse, dietitian, milliner, tailor, economist, artist, architect, teacher, religious guide, counselor, and dictator—I have mentioned only a few of the activities which every competent matron undertakes. Yet many of you, I suspect, with a real talent for this rich life of high and varied service, in which every virtue and every charm count, many of you have been persuaded that this life is not service but servitude, and are considering whether you

should not renounce your beautiful talent and devote yourself to selling bonds or writing for the short-story magazines. "I don't want to spend all my life washing dishes," you have cried — as if washing dishes were a hundredth part of the fascinating things you are expected to do! . . .

QUESTIONS

1. What were St. Paul's ideas in regard to the value of work?
2. What ideas in regard to social classes did we inherit from the medieval world?
3. Enumerate and explain the factors that make for social superiority.
4. What ideas do the Mexicans have in regard to manual labor?
5. How has the principle of conspicuous waste guided the formation of habits of thought?
6. According to Veblen, what are the chief functions of dress?
7. Why do we look down upon manual labor? Suggest ways to correct this.
8. Why does the thief or the swindler who has gained great wealth by his delinquency have a better chance than the small thief of escaping the rigorous penalty of the law?
9. Give Theodore Roosevelt's ideas as to the value of work.
10. What should be the criteria of service?

CHAPTER ELEVEN

SOCIAL DEFENSE AGAINST CRIME

73. THE COST OF CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES¹

A recent estimate of the cost of crime in the United States is \$2,500,000 a day. In some states the process of convicting a person of felony costs not less than \$1500. Some conception of the enormous burden which crime entails upon the taxpayer, to say nothing of the victims of criminal activities, may be gained from the cost of society's attempt to guard itself from criminals through the legal processes. In 1909 the taxpayers of Massachusetts spent \$1,556,708.45 simply for the maintenance of the state penal institutions, jails, and houses of correction. In 1910 Warren F. Spalding, Secretary of the Massachusetts Prison Association, published a rather careful study on the cost of crime in Massachusetts. He estimated that the detection, conviction, and punishment of crime requires more than one tenth of all the money raised by taxation for all purposes. The only single expenditure in the State of Massachusetts which equaled that for crime was that for education.

In 1920, according to the reports of the Wisconsin Tax Commission, the battle against crime cost the taxpayers of Wisconsin over six million dollars above all incomes from the houses of correction and the state penal and correctional institutions.

The Fire Marshal of Wisconsin estimates the loss in a single year from incendiarism alone in the state at \$284,025. The latest available figures from the state of New York indicate that it cost the people of that state more than six million dollars to maintain the inmates of state prisons, reformatories, penitentiaries, New York City institutions, and county jails during the year 1921.

The secretary of the Chicago Crime Commission has estimated that the property loss from thefts in that city in 1919 amounted to more than twelve millions of dollars. The seriousness of Chicago's burglary problem is indicated by the burglary-insurance rates.

¹ From John L. Gillin, *Criminology and Penology*. The Century Company, New York; 1925. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

The rates in that city are higher than in any other city in the United States.

The secretary of the Chicago Crime Commission is authority for the statement that the amount paid for insurance against theft runs into the millions, besides the amount paid for private protection and the amount paid through taxation for its police department.

The State Board of Charities and Correction of Virginia in 1915 estimated the cost of crime to the taxpayers of that state as \$440,528. In 1914 the criminals of Ohio cost the people of that state \$8,500,000, an increase of 79 per cent over the cost in 1906, during which period the population had increased but 10.9 per cent.

Many other estimates are to be found of the cost of crime to various cities and states. Perhaps one estimate of the cost of crime to the people of the United States will indicate an approximation to the waste of crime. President Joyce of the National Surety Company has estimated the direct financial cost in the United States in 1923 at \$3,000,000,000 annually.

74. THE RISING TIDE OF MURDER¹

. . . Judge Talley continues :

A recent bulletin of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company declared that the homicide rate in America is about twelve times as high as it is in England, and points out that the year 1923 was a busy year for man-killers, and that while in 1922 6.3 per 100,000 of the industrial policyholders in Canada and the United States were slain, this figure was increased in 1923 to 7.3.

Frederick L. Hoffman, statistician of the Prudential Insurance Company, recently published a very careful and illuminating homicide record for 1923, in which he analyzes the murders in twenty-eight of our principal cities, and, summarizing it, says: "This table is the most amazing murder record for any civilized country for which the data are available. It indicates a state of affairs so startling and of such significance that no government, Federal or State, can rightfully ignore the situation. Compared with the beginning of the period, the murder death rate has practically doubled in twenty-four years."

He points out by way of contrast that in all England and Wales in 1923, with an approximate population of less than half of that of the United States,

¹ From *The Literary Digest*, pages 32, 33 (September 13, 1924). Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

there occurred 200 deaths from homicide, as against approximately 10,000 in the United States. This would be, therefore, equivalent to about 4 deaths per million in England and Wales, as against a rate of 102 per million for twenty-eight cities of the United States. In all Scotland in 1922, among a population of about 5,000,000, there occurred but 18 deaths from homicide.

Does any one arise to deny the assertion that we are the most lawless nation on the face of the earth? Even he who runs may read and understand the figures given below for the ten-year period from 1911 to 1921 in the United States, covering the area for which statistics are available. They show that the average homicide mortality per 100,000 of our population was 7.2. In our neighboring provinces of Ontario and Quebec it was 0.5. In England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland it ranged from 0.4 to 0.9. In Australia and South Africa it was 1.9. So much for the English-speaking nations, not so far removed from ourselves in language, race and environment and customs of living.

In Italy the ratio was 3.6. In Spain it was 0.9. In Norway it was 0.8, dropping in Holland to 0.3, and in Switzerland to 0.2. To put it very bluntly, no other country measurably approaches the United States in the murderous tendency of its people, and here is a situation that is equally depressing: If similar comparative statistics could be furnished with regard to crimes of burglary and robbery, our excess over other nations in the matter of murders would be insignificant, compared with the tremendous excess in crimes of this character which are characteristic of the United States.

On this phase Judge Talley adopts the comparative system, bringing out that throughout all England and Wales in 1921 there were 95 robberies, while in 1922 in the city of New York alone there were 1445 robberies, and in Chicago, 2417. New York and Chicago are taken for the purpose of the comparison because of their size and importance, not, says Judge Talley, because they are the most lawless of all the cities. They are not, for, as he goes on:

Reverting back to the homicide figures of cities, we find that both New York and Chicago show up very much better than a large number of other cities in 1922-'23. The homicide record per 100,000 population in New York was only 5.5. In Chicago it was 12.7, showing more than twice as many murders in proportion to population for that period in Chicago than in New York, but for the same period the Chicago record is insignificant compared with the showing of Memphis, Tennessee, with 66.2; Nashville, with 34.7; New Orleans, with 25.5; Louisville, with 24.4; and St. Louis, with 21.5; and it may be a shock to know that in our capital city of Washington the percentage of murders was higher than in either New York or Chicago, because Washington's figures show a rate of 13.3 per cent.

The fault, we are told, does not lie with lax enforcement of the law or with lax officials. The great difficulty in the administration of the criminal law in this country is attributable, writes the jurist, to two things:

The first is the apathetic attitude of the people toward the strict enforcement of the law and the punishment of the criminal, and the second is the unwillingness of the people themselves to respect and obey the law of the land and to train the children of the country to obedience and respect for lawful constituted authority.

What we need here is justice that will be prompt, adequate, and final. The barnacles that have grown in the centuries past upon prompt and efficient handling of the convicted criminal should be swept away, but this can only be accomplished by a healthy, earnest coöperation between the citizen and the official. One of the most curious and inexplicable manifestations in the criminal courts in recent years is the willingness of apparently respectable jurymen to flout the law and disregard the facts in the rendition of their verdicts. Every judge of every criminal court of the country can give innumerable instances of a wanton disregard of duty on the part of jurymen. It would seem that this is a reaction in the jury box of the general spirit of lawlessness that pervades the country, and unless it is stopped, its swelling tide will billow into a wave which will inundate our nation and sweep it to destruction.

75. THE PENAL CODE AND THE CRIMINAL¹

. . . One of the earliest statements of a systematic doctrine of crime is found in the teachings of a small group of thinkers who wrote at about the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, and who have come to be known as "the classical school" of criminologists. Their teachings reflected the ideas of personal liberty and equality which were current at the time and were a revolt against the partisan, irregular, and arbitrary administration of the law which was all too common then. In accordance with these ideas of personal responsibility and individual liberty and equality the classical school taught that all men are equally accountable for their acts and should accordingly be treated alike. This led them to support fully the doctrine of fixed and uniform penalties for all crimes. To treat two persons differently who had

¹ From Henry P. Fairchild, *Elements of Social Science*, pages 404-412. The Macmillan Company, New York; 1924. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

committed the same act seemed to them sheer injustice. Consequently they turned their attention to the crime. They conceived their task to be to define and describe as exactly as possible different crimes and to indicate the penalty which should be attached to each.

The teachings of the classical school had a profound effect upon public ideas about crime and upon criminal procedure throughout the nineteenth century. In fact, we are still largely under their influence, though we have made some modifications. We no longer assume full criminal responsibility for little children, idiots, and insane and mentally defective persons. But we do hold the ordinary adult criminal wholly accountable for his acts on the assumption that they were the result of the exercise of his own free will. We still cling to the system of fixed penalties — what has been called the “Magna Carta” of criminals — determined in advance by the legislative body which passes the law. Often the judge is allowed some latitude in the amount of fine or the length of imprisonment, with a final element of variety indicated by the words “or both.” We still feel that the nature and degree of the punishment are to be determined by the nature of the crime, not by the nature of the criminal.

About the middle of the nineteenth century a new idea was introduced into criminological thinking, primarily by an Italian named Lombroso. Around him there soon gathered a group of thinkers who agreed with his general doctrines and came to be known as “the positive school.” The basic idea of this school is that the way to learn about crime is to study the criminal, not the crime. This was a thoroughly scientific doctrine. The only way to understand any phenomenon is to get at the causes and forces back of it. The forces back of crime, just as of every other social phenomenon, are the feelings and desires, resulting in willed acts, of human beings. The crime is purely a result, valuable as a symptom or piece of evidence, but wholly inadequate to show the real nature of the problem with which society has to deal. As a result of their study of criminals the members of the positive school arrived at a rather remarkable conclusion, that criminals as a class constitute a distinct variety of the human species. This means that the traits of

the criminal which lead him into illegal conduct are biologically inherited from his parents and biologically transmitted to his children, just as the straight black hair and slanting eyes of the Chinaman or the blue eyes and fair skins of the Scandinavian are passed on from generation to generation by physical heredity. These criminal tendencies are invariably associated with, and indicated by, certain external physical traits, or *stigmata*, which are as characteristic of the criminal type as different kinds of hair and skin and eyes are characteristic of the different races of men. Some of the more important of these traits are a receding forehead, a projecting jaw, irregularity and lack of symmetry in various features of the head and face, missing lobes of the ear, high cheek bones, etc. Most of these traits were considered to be *atavistic* in character; that is, to represent features which were common among all men in an earlier stage of evolution. Naturally there are also intellectual and temperamental features of a corresponding sort. All of these traits occasionally occur in law-abiding persons, but they occur most frequently and in much more numerous combinations in the criminal type as described by the positive school. Since the traits which lead to crime are inherited from one's parents, the criminal is in no sense responsible for his criminal character. He is a criminal because he is born to be one and cannot help it. There is therefore no possibility of really reforming such a criminal. On the other hand, no one who is not born into this class is in the slightest danger of becoming a criminal.

This group of ideas had a deep influence upon the thought of western nations for several decades. From the first, however, they did not seem to many people to be in accordance with personal experience, observation, or common sense. Little by little the doubt began to grow as to whether they were really a correct statement of the case. The only way to find out was by long and careful study. A large number of persons in various countries have given time and thought to the subject, with the result that today the idea of the criminal class as a distinct biological type is quite generally discarded. Several faults were found in the methods followed by the positive school. In the first place, they based their conclusions almost entirely upon the study of prisoners and those who had

suffered the death penalty. But prisoners are not necessarily representative of all criminals. As we have seen, only a fraction of actual criminals are ever caught. Only a part of those caught are convicted. Only a part of those convicted are punished by imprisonment or death. On the whole, the particular criminals who happen to have the traits described are more likely to wind up in prison than those who do not, on very much the principle of the mediæval law which provided that if two persons were suspected of a crime and there was no evidence to prove which had done it, the uglier of the two was to be adjudged guilty. In the second place, prison life itself produces its effect upon both body and spirit, and the prisoner is not the same man that he was when he committed the crime. In the third place, the positive school did not make enough comparisons of criminals with law-abiding people to prove whether the stigmata were really characteristic of criminals or might not be found with equal frequency among the rest of the population. Finally, even granting that these stigmata were unusually common among criminals, they do not actually constitute a type. They are simply an unrelated mass of peculiarities. As a result of these studies, it is generally believed today that, while of course some people are born with more of a tendency to do wrong than others, there is no such thing as a biological criminal class. The only true criminal class includes every one who has ever committed a crime, whether detected and punished or not. The forces which lead to crime are not essentially different from the forces which lead to any other form of immoral, antisocial, or unduly selfish conduct. Every one of us possesses in some degree the capacity and the likelihood of committing crime. Whether we do or not is largely a matter of environment, training, education, temptation, and opportunity. Probably very few of us have not done some things morally worse than the things which have made other people criminals. . . .

76. FEATURES OF THE NEW CRIMINOLOGY ¹

. . . Hitherto, our criminal justice has been concerned almost entirely with the crime and its commission and not with the crim-

¹ From Harry Elmer Barnes, "Trial by Jury," in *The American Mercury*, Vol. 3, No. 12 (December, 1924). Reprinted by special permission of the author.

inal and his personality. Modern criminal science repudiates this mode of approach. It is the criminal and not the crime which must be primarily considered, whether we emphasize the reformation of the criminal or the protection of society. The nature of the criminal personality is the point of attack for the rational criminologist, and there is no greater scientific fallacy extant today than that which was urged so tenaciously by Mr. Crowe and his associates in the recent Chicago trial; namely, that the penalty should be made to fit the crime. Only in a very limited degree is the crime any real criterion of the potential danger of the criminal to society or the possibility of his reformation. . . .

Accepting, then, as basic the notion that we should deal with the personality of the criminal and not with his alleged act, it immediately becomes apparent that criminology is a highly complex technical matter. To be successfully pursued it requires the collaboration of biologists, psychologists, psychiatrists, and social workers. Obviously, its problems are not to be intrusted to lawyers or to the sort of men who serve on juries. The jury-room is no more a place for the functioning of the common man than the operating room of a hospital, the designing-room of the American Bridge Company, or the research laboratory of the General Electric Company. Least of all can we rationally intrust the decision in a case of alleged insanity to the average man. Imagine, for example, a group of plumbers, barbers, and the like being assembled to diagnose a case of inflammation of the pancreas, or gallstones, or tumor of the uterus. Such a grotesque absurdity would be exactly comparable to the burlesque of calling a jury to decide upon the insanity of a defendant in a criminal case were it not that the determination of insanity is often a much more difficult and subtle task than the diagnosis of a physical disease. . . .

The new criminology will delegate the study and treatment of the criminal to a permanent group of experts under the leadership of trained and enlightened psychiatrists. Such a group will not be concerned primarily with the mere legal guilt of the person accused. Guilt or criminal action will be regarded only as a symptom of initial significance. Accusation and guilt will be viewed chiefly as means of bringing a criminal personality into the custody of scien-

tists. The important question will be the menace of the individual to society and the possibility of so treating him as to eliminate that menace. If it is found that his personality is such as to make it permanent and serious, he will be segregated for life, whether he has committed a multiple murder or stolen a bag of peanuts. On the other hand, many a person who has committed a murder will be committed to a sanitarium for treatment, with the expectancy of his ultimate release to a life of freedom if his motivating compulsive disorder is of the type which promises recovery under treatment.

Those who allege that the new criminology will not offer adequate social protection argue badly and in a circle. Surely no person would contend that our present criminal jurisprudence in the United States offers adequate protection against, say, crimes of violence. A careful statistical study by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has recently shown that there is only one execution to every 146 homicides in this country and that our homicide rate is seventeen times as high as that of England. The new criminology will prescribe a technic and procedure which will be much more effective than even the English procedure. For the first time in the history of criminal jurisprudence there will be a group of individuals actually interested in the real facts about crime and capable of making use of them in an intelligent manner. It will no longer be a matter of gubernatorial ambitions on the part of the district attorney or fees and reputation for the counsel for the defense. The new system will go beyond Chief Vollmer in urging improvements in our police, so as to make the discovery of crime and the subsequent retribution swift and sure. It will advocate devices to discover in advance of criminal action the existence of personalities likely to become menaces to society. In the case of a young person suffering from incipient dementia præcox we do not insist upon waiting until he has assassinated his grandmother before we commit him to an institution. Likewise, it is not invariably necessary to wait until a potential murderer has committed his crime before he is detected and segregated. Many will allege that it will be very difficult to discover such potential murderer criminals in advance, but it may be retorted that it is equally difficult to dis-

cover persons who are spreading contagious diseases. Yet it is only as we succeed in this last that we are capable of giving any reality and value to preventive medicine. In all probability, arrest by ever more scientifically trained police will remain a major method of bringing the criminal to the attention of psychiatrists, but a greater and greater percentage of anticipation will be realized through mental hygiene clinics, compulsory mental testing, and the extension of psychiatry into the work of the public schools.

Even more, the scientific criminology will emphasize the necessity of sterilizing and segregating that class which produces many of the potential criminals; namely, the feeble-minded. There will be no more time sentences, the period of segregation will depend entirely upon the progress made toward the cure of the disorder which motivates and precipitates criminal conduct. The same criteria will guide our procedure that governs it today with respect to the release of patients from hospitals for the insane.

77. THE NEW PENOLOGY¹

. . . At present when a man has served his term in prison he is simply turned out into the world, with his prison record barring him from honest employment and oftentimes forcing him again into crime in order that he may live. It is highly desirable that some other plan for properly handling the discharged-convict situation should be adopted. I believe the following principles to be sound:

(a) The period immediately following the prison period is the most crucial time for the convict. He is often an outcast without money and with most of his tendencies directing him toward his old associates.

(b) The state spends a considerable sum on his imprisonment; surely it can wisely spend something on his after-prison period to prevent his being again a charge on the state.

(c) The only method of keeping convicts under proper supervision is by parole; that is, conditional liberty under official supervision.

¹ From Theodore Roosevelt, "The New Penology," in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. XLVI (March, 1913). Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

(d) The parole of negroes in the South will doubtless be attended by greater difficulties than the parole of white men in northern states; nevertheless, I firmly believe in it.

(e) The problem of the rehabilitation of prisoners, of their decent conduct during the parole period, is peculiarly a problem to be handled by a prison association or a prisoners' aid society. Such a society should coöperate with the state in developing volunteer parole workers, probation workers, taking convicts on parole, coöperating with state parole agents, paying out in installments to paroled men the money they have earned in prison, and in general developing this supervision. If there are dependent families or prisoners, the prisoners' aid society might well be the association through which the earnings of prisoners could be paid, or the association could work in coöperation with the poor law officials of the various counties or towns.

The fact that a prisoner can earn money while under imprisonment is the greatest incentive to right living that can be given him. A further great incentive is the indeterminate sentence, whereby the prisoner earns his own way to liberty through good conduct and progress. Indeterminate sentences are found on the statutes of practically all of the more progressive states in this country.

I am a strong believer in the value of a thorough survey of prison conditions whenever a state is inclined to make radical changes in its laws. Our principal trouble in prison reform is that reforms have been patchwork. The time has come, it seems to me, for thoroughgoing studies followed by thoroughgoing reform.

78. A PRISON NEED NOT BE A DEN OF DESPAIR¹

. . . As I stood looking out of a window at the imposing brick structure several hundred yards away, housing 2500 men in its neat, steel cells, an officer of the barracks approached me. He said:

Do you see that building there? There's too much brooding going on inside of it. Those men don't have enough diversion. Their lives here don't mean anything to 'em. They work seven hours a day and the

¹ From Winthrop D. Lane, "Fort Leavenworth: The Interplay of Military and Penal Discipline in the Regeneration of Men," in *The Survey* (July 5, 1919). Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

rest of the time they do nothing. This may be punishment, but it's a little more than punishment.

They ought to play more. Athletic games would be best. Why not have friendly competition between wings in this prison? It'd give the men something to look forward to. Even if a man was only a spectator, his interest would stir him up mentally. The men in the shops ought to have calisthenics every day; otherwise they get flabby and dumpy minded. "Horseplay" games would give all of the men a chance for exercise. Some of them would be awkward, of course, but that would only add to the fun.

And why not encourage an interest in outside affairs? When have so many things of importance been going on? Post the news of the day at breakfast, — what's the objection? The men would then have something to talk about besides their own troubles. Have lectures on interesting subjects. Get different speakers and give the men some real talks on things they want to know about. Stop this weekly religious stuff all the year round. The men get tired of listening to one chaplain all the time.

During the baseball season have the scores of the big league games telegraphed and posted.

Give 'em hobbies. There's a lot of music in some of those fellows. Have a prison band play at dinner and supper. Let individuals play solos for the rest of the prisoners, and organize duets and quartets. Music would do a lot to cut out brooding.

I'd encourage inventions if I had my way. Some of those fellows have a mechanical knack; let 'em putter around in the shops. I know what the officials would say to that suggestion. They'd say the men would make knives and things to escape with. But supervision would prevent that. I'd have a man, too, who knows about patent rights, to advise the fellows.

I could walk into that building now and find half a dozen scenarios that men have been writing. The trouble now is they don't know what to do with the things, or are afraid to do anything. Why not encourage 'em? Of course, the scenarios might not be much good, but a little encouragement would improve them. What I want to see is something to give the men an interest in life. They could sell their scenarios, too, or exchange 'em for moving pictures to be shown here.

But the most important thing is to get the men out into a field or an athletic ground, some place where trees and grass are — anything growing, anything opposed to iron and stone. Why, those men are carrying a dead weight of iron and stone around, inside 'em, on their minds — a dead weight of it. They can't develop under that burden.

79. EFFECT OF CONVICT LABOR ¹

I think that the most bitter and corroding hate that convicts hold for the church is based on the smug, and as they believe, hypocritically and willfully blind acceptance of the existing methods of employing convict labor. According to the data supplied by the Census Bureau, there were 202,545 persons incarcerated in our penal institutions in this country in 1922. A large majority of them were serving sentences of "hard labor," largely being employed in prison workshops owned by the various states, but used by manufacturers who contract for the labor or the products of the labor of the prisoners.

The taxpayers provide these exploiters of convict labor with rent, heat, light, power, drayage, and the supervision of the working force free of all cost. And to operate these prison workshops the state officials sell the labor of the convicts at about one-tenth to one-sixth of the ordinary wage paid free labor for a given production. The convict labor contractors, or their private employees, are given full and despotic control of the prisons, and they are permitted to use any methods they see fit to exact the "task," which in every instance is a far greater production than free workers ever achieve.

There is a federal statute that forbids federal prisoners being worked under the "task" system, but it did not protect me, nor any of the federal prisoners who served with me in the Missouri state penitentiary. I worked every day in the prison garment factory under a most inhuman "task" system, my task being to make the jacket portion of eighty-eight men's overalls per day. And this is a production that no employer of free labor ever gets from free workers.

If the women convicts failed to make the "task," they were punished with inhuman brutality. Beaten, starved, tortured by thirst, frozen in winter, roasted in summer, hanged by the wrists with steel handcuffs, gagged, subjected to beastly sex perversions, and left to rot in the dungeon. I have seen every kind of punishment that the diseased minds of men could invent, even homicide, but in

¹ From Kate Richards O'Hare, "The Religion of the Convict," in *The Christian Century*, pages 598-599 (May 7, 1925). Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

only two instances was it for bad behavior — always it was for the failure to make the “task.”

It is common knowledge among all convicts, and others who really know prisons, that if prison labor for private profits were abolished the great majority of prison brutalities would be eliminated. And prisoners resent the fact that the prison-labor contractors and the corrupt politicians who share their profits have led honest people to believe that the convicts revolt at the “task” because they wish to be idle. There is nothing worse than prison labor except prison idleness, and most prisoners are ready and willing to work, but they want to receive a decent wage, pay the cost of their maintenance, and have the surplus for their dependents or have it laid away for them in a fund on which they can begin life anew when the debt to society has been paid.

80. JUVENILE DELINQUENCY ¹

. . . Today we are beginning to ask: “Why?” Whenever a child or a juvenile commits an offense, we ask, “Why did he do it?” And we are beginning to accept the answer that he did not know any better or he could not help it. Moreover, the day is not far distant when we shall ask this question not only of juveniles but of all offenders. In other words, it will become the fundamental principle of all treatment of offenders, that there is a reason for their conduct. Not only that, but we are going further yet. We are fast approaching the day when we shall realize that disease and defect, mental and physical, are conditions favorable to the commission of offenses against the public. We shall accordingly ascertain the mental and physical conditions of all people and recognize the fact that the persons suffering from abnormal conditions of body or mind are particularly liable to commit crime. The logical consequence will be that we shall take the necessary steps either to cure such sufferers or to place them where they will have no opportunity to commit offenses. Several facts recently brought to the attention of the thinking public are leading directly to this better order of things:

¹ From Henry Herbert Goddard, *Juvenile Delinquency*, pages 3-5. Copyright by Dodd, Mead & Co., Inc., New York; 1921. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

1. The growing conviction that children are the nation's greatest asset; that while children differ among themselves both by nature and nurture there are comparatively few who cannot be made into more or less useful members of society if rightly understood and rightly managed.
2. We are beginning to realize that most of our thieves, prostitutes, swindlers, shiftlings, vagrants, and other more-or-less vicious characters are not "necessary evils" that must be tolerated.
3. We are beginning to apply common sense and logic to the understanding of that much-abused concept of "personal liberty." We are beginning to realize that William H. Anderson is right when he says:

Personal liberty ends where public injury begins. There is a higher personal liberty, and that is civil liberty. A man has no personal liberty to sell rotten meat. He has no personal liberty to run his automobile on the left side of Fifth Avenue. He has no personal liberty to shoot off a revolver in a New York square. There is no such thing as personal liberty unless the man is the sole inhabitant of a wilderness. Every man gives up what he calls his personal liberty in return for the benefits he derives from society.

May we add to that that a man has no liberty to bring into the world children who are surely going to be diseased or idiots; that a man has no personal liberty to allow his children to run loose and acquire habits and practices that are a social menace? Anderson is right, "Liberty ends where public injury begins."

4. We are learning that large numbers of people are not responsible for their acts because of lack of sufficient intelligence; and that the proportion of the population possessed of relatively low-grade or abnormal intelligence, is so great as to make necessary a complete revision of our ideas of responsibility.

Adequate appreciation of these facts leads to the formulation of the problem of delinquency somewhat as follows:

The development of the child into a useful member of society is an evolutionary process, dependent upon the interaction of two forces; the one acting from within and the other from without. The former being the inherited nature of the child; the latter his acquisition from his environment. The former is again subdivided into two groups:

4. Those characteristics and tendencies belonging to him because he is a human being and in which we are all alike.

B. Those special tendencies which are the peculiar characteristics of a particular stock or family.

Into what kind of a member of society a child will evolve depends upon the kind of inheritance he has and the environment in which he is placed.

81. SOCIALIZING THE CHILD ¹

The juvenile courts are dealing with stealing, sex violations, and other activities where the self has gone counter to the group. To make this adjustment between the other instincts and the social instincts requires as a rule more intelligence than is possessed by the human youth. Hence if we are to avoid trouble and provide for the welfare of the group, we must as in all such cases proceed to train the youth and induce him, by means of arguments which he can understand, to do these things which he does not understand but which he will appreciate later. For this purpose we have schools.

In other words, the first business of the schools is to socialize the child. By socializing we must not mean the crowding together in ever larger and larger groups nor the process of making man more "sociable." The socialization of the child consists in so transforming him that his individual impulses are largely supplanted, or replaced by desires and actions that fit in with the work of the group. So modify primitive instincts that the group can function as a unit; harmoniously, exactly, efficiently, and reliably—that is, with no exception, like the organs of the body. It is not sufficient that each organ be healthy, but each one must function in such a way as to fit in with the functioning of the rest to the end that the total functioning of the body may be that of the highest efficiency.

. . . If the school does not teach a child to be honest and to be moral in a strict sense of that term, that is, to live in accordance with the customs, the rules, the conventions that society has laid down, then the group which supports such a school is not only wasting its money and effort but it is committing suicide.

¹ From Henry Herbert Goddard, *Juvenile Delinquency*, pages 112-113. Copyright by Dodd, Mead & Co., Inc., New York; 1921. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

QUESTIONS

1. Give an estimate of the cost of crime in the United States.
2. Prove or disprove the statement. "We are the most lawless nation in the world."
3. What are the advantages and disadvantages of a system of fixed penalties for crime?
4. Summarize the teachings of the "classical school" and the "positive school" of criminologists.
5. Outline the plan for the scientific treatment of criminals as given by Harry Elmer Barnes.
6. Why does Kate Richards O'Hare condemn contract labor in prisons? What would she substitute in its place?
7. What was Roosevelt's idea of the proper way of handling the discharged convict?
8. Enumerate the facts which have been brought to the attention of the thinking public that lead to a more scientific study and treatment of juvenile delinquency.
9. What does the phrase "socializing the child" mean? How can the school bring this about?

CHAPTER TWELVE

POVERTY AND ITS RELIEF

82. THE CAUSES OF POVERTY ¹

OBJECTIVE CAUSES OF POVERTY

By objective causes we mean environment and conditions lying outside of the individual, and to a great extent beyond his control, although not wholly so. These constitute from sixty to seventy-five per cent of the causes of poverty. . . .

1. *Insufficient Natural Resources.* Poor soil, lack of rainfall, too cold a climate, or the inability of nature to yield to man a living, are potent factors. . . .

2. *Unhealthful Climatic Conditions.* Poor climatic conditions are illustrated by regions which are subject to diseases like malaria, yellow fever, cholera, hookworm, and sleeping sickness. . . .

3. *Defective Government.* . . . Bad systems of tenure, such as are found in England, Italy, Austria, and formerly in most countries in Europe, come under this heading. . . .

4. *Bad Industrial Organization.* (1) Unemployment. Evidences of faulty industrial organization are found in several conditions, the first of which is unemployment. . . .

(2) Low Wages. . . . If labor is abundant, wages are low; if scarce, wages are higher. Some industries make no pretense of paying all a person is worth to them but depend upon a surplus of labor, and so give as little as possible, often paying a person with dependents a wage too low to support even one person. . . .

(3) Irregularity of Employment and Seasonal Work. . . .

(4) Immobility of Labor. Of all commodities labor is the most immobile; this fact adds to its poor bargaining position. The higher the grade of labor, the easier it is for the laborer to move, for he has the reserve power produced by greater intelligence and higher wages. The man with the small income is ordinarily unable to move, even if he knows that there is work to be had in another place.

¹ From G. S. Dow, *Society and Its Problems*, pages 424-447. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1922. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

(5) Unhealthful and Dangerous Occupations. . . .

5. *Changes in Industry.* (1) New Machinery. The industrial revolution in England produced untold misery. It threw thousands out of employment, reduced wages, and caused privation and misery on every hand. The invention of any new machine or improved method which enables one person to do the work formerly requiring several throws men out of employment and thus causes poverty. After a time the industry readjusts itself and a better condition results. The improved machine produces more and lowers prices; the lower price increases demand for the commodity; the greater consumption increases the demand for labor. But the temporary readjustment causes misery.

(2) New Styles. Varying styles bring about changes in trade; narrow skirts caused a smaller demand for cloth than usual and compelled the quick return to wider skirts in order that the manufacturers might not lose money. . . .

(3) Changes in the Value of Money. . . .

(4) Changes in Tariff Schedules. . . .

(5) Any Great Disturbance in Industry. . . .

6. *Defects in Educational System.* Illiterate and uneducated persons are at a disadvantage in life's struggle. . . .

7. *Defective Courts and Punitive Machinery.* If the courts are corrupt or inefficient, laws are not obeyed. If the punitive machinery is defective and court sentences are not carried out, laws are disregarded. This means that preventive legislation will not be enforced, that the strong will prey upon the weak, and that misery and distress will be increased. . . .

8. *Defective Sanitation.* Poor sanitation, while mentioned under government, is also due to other reasons than defective government. It may be the result of ignorance, neglect, or poor location. It is one of the most frequent causes of sickness, and so is a great producer of poverty.

9. *Unfavorable Surroundings.* Living near a degenerate neighborhood or where one does not come into contact with real industry and enterprise is an indirect cause of poverty, for no real enthusiasm is engendered and one becomes discouraged, feeling that life is of no use. This is especially true if one lives near thieves and grafters,

for then one is apt to feel that it is useless to work or save; such an environment is especially destructive in its influence upon children.

10. *Social Institutions, such as Treating.* The habit of drinking was formerly an excellent illustration of the evils of treating. A person would go into a saloon to get a glass of beer, but meeting friends while there, he would drink six or eight glasses and spend, instead of five cents, as he intended, possibly fifty cents.

11. *Immigration.* By increasing the supply of labor disproportionately to the demand for commodities, immigration upsets the balance between supply and demand for labor, and so lowers wages — or keeps them from rising — and throws many out of employment. . . .

12. *Accidents, Other than Those Due to Dangerous Occupations.* . . .

13. *Unwise Giving and Indiscriminate Charity.* The American habit of indiscriminate giving is an unmixed evil. Especially harmful has been a large part of the charity of the churches. To them giving *per se* has been the chief thing and, being ignorant of how to give, they have in all probability caused more poverty than they have prevented. Unwise systems of relief increase poverty. . . . Unwise giving removes the incentive to work and kills the spirit of independence. Giving to a beggar simply to get rid of him or because his condition touches a sympathetic chord is probably the worst thing one could do for him. If the beggar is successful, he will choose begging as an occupation because it is more lucrative than working. Giving to a family without careful investigation often causes the family to cease to be independent and to depend entirely upon charity in the future. It has been discovered in Chicago that once a family receives help from the city it never ceases to receive it, but remains on the pauper list. . . . The average person is more in need of the opportunity to earn a living than of material relief.

14. *War, Famine, and Disaster.* The World War caused endless poverty, as well as untold suffering and misery. . . .

SUBJECTIVE CAUSES OF POVERTY

By subjective causes of poverty we mean those originating within the person. These constitute only from twenty-five to forty per

cent of the causes of poverty and are not so important as those formerly considered. They are intermingled with the objective causes. . . . In fact, it is seldom possible to separate them entirely. The following are generally considered the most important of the subjective causes:

1. *Disease, Sickness, and Poor Health.* Devine asserts that three-fourths of all persons coming before charitable organizations for aid are in need of medical attention in some form or other, or are affected by sickness in some way. . . .

2. *Shiftlessness and Laziness.* From ten to fifteen per cent of poverty is generally attributed to shiftlessness, but if we go deeply enough into the matter we usually find that shiftlessness is a result rather than a cause. Nevertheless, we find people who are too indolent to replace broken window panes, too sluggish to harvest their crops after they have ripened, and too lazy to do anything which is not absolutely required of them. As a result they are continually in trouble, and as soon as misfortune comes in are in distress. . . .

3. *Poor Judgment.* Poor judgment is closely akin to the preceding cause, only it appears to be more hopeless of remedy. Some people seem to have the ability to decide wisely in their undertakings, to choose the right path, to buy the most economical things, to decide upon what is cheapest and best in the long run, to choose their careers with the final goal in sight. Others seem to have the opposite faculty — if we may be allowed to call it that; they are always being swindled, always getting the worst of the bargain, always getting "left," and always having a tale of woe to tell. Some are always having bad luck, continually meeting with accidents, and constantly getting sick. They are the ones who lose their positions, pay the highest prices for things, never know how to economize, and so are never able to save. Sometimes when they do chance to reach the brink of success, they change their minds and sacrifice all they have gained. In short, the world seems to be full of fools, who become the victims of those endowed with higher intelligence. . . .

4. *Intemperance, Bad Habits.* . . .

5. *Immorality.* Immorality is closely bound up with degeneracy and poverty. In such studies as those made of the Jukes, Kallikak,

and Nam families we find immorality and intemperance going hand in hand, holding these families down to a state of poverty and degeneracy. Immorality weakens vitality and efficiency and so decreases earning. It again is joined with other causes, such as poor judgment and intemperance, and is a result of poverty as well as a cause. . . .

6. *Old Age.* . . .

7. *Neglect and Desertion by Husband and Relatives.* Neglect and desertion contribute from five to ten per cent of the causes of destitution. They are especially important, and unfortunately, too common, particularly when the children are young. . . .

8. *Crime and Dishonesty.* Not only are persons made unemployed by dishonesty and crime, and so unable to provide for their families, but when a person is sentenced to prison, his family is often left destitute. Moreover, when the prisoner is discharged it is extremely difficult for him to get work again. The modern system of paroling and finding work before the parole is granted is dealing with the problem in a more effective manner. Also public opinion is changing somewhat in regard to the employment of an ex-convict, because belief in reformation is gradually becoming prevalent. . . .

9. *Ignorance, Other than Lack of Education.* Ignorance is closely akin to poor judgment, yet has a slightly different aspect. We find people who simply do not know how to do things and who never are able to learn to do anything as they are directed. . . . Ignorance on the part of wives in household matters — ignorance of methods of running a house, planning a well-balanced diet, buying economically; ignorance of hygiene, of the proper care of the sick, and of rearing children — these everyday home matters contribute not a little to poverty. Improvement of the environment alleviates this condition by bringing such people into contact with efficiency and knowledge.

10. *Large Families.* Formerly large families were considered assets, because as soon as the children outgrew the period of infancy they were trained to contribute to the food supply, and as they grew older they contributed to the defense as well as the support of the family. This was true in America down through the

colonial times and in later days on the frontier as long as free or cheap land was available. After we began to settle down to our present manner of living, there was no longer productive work for the children to do. Then again our ideas in regard to education and of children and to child labor have changed. Now, instead of being assets, children are liabilities and a source of added expense. Therefore, as the size of the family grows the strain increases in proportion. Whereas formerly a family might remain independent if there were only two or three children, it frequently is unable to do so when the number increases to eight or ten. This tendency has grown more important with the increased cost of bearing and rearing children. . . .

83. PAUPERIZING METHODS OF GRANTING RELIEF¹

Mr. A. first received aid ten years ago. At that time he was not able to do anything but light work because of rheumatism. The family consisted of an able-bodied woman, a boy eleven, a boy eight, and a girl six. The woman refused to do any work except her housework and as little of that as possible. The boys refused to do odd jobs and to run errands that other boys of self-supporting families were eager to do in order to earn a little money. As the boys grew older they would not join the neighborhood boys in picking wild berries to sell, saying that the county would support them. Later they complained because the county did not allow them spending money. At the time of the investigator's visit the twenty-one-year-old boy had been married about a year. His father remarked that the boy should have stayed single and helped the family with the money he had to spare; in fact, he doubted if the boy was earning enough to justify him in getting married. To this the boy replied, "There is no reason why the county should not continue to support you and Ma and the county will have to support me and my wife, if I get out of work." The eighteen-year-old boy at that time had steady work but was planning to give it up, as he

¹ From the *Report of the Iowa Child Welfare Commission*, pages 29-31. State of Iowa; 1924.

did not want to "overwork and make an old man out of himself." He was encouraged in this attitude by his parents and brother, although he appeared able-bodied and was doing no harder work than many of the neighbor boys. The mother, who was the picture of health, had evidently stood by her resolution of ten years before, for when she was asked about her earnings, she said she didn't do anything but her housework. The sixteen-year-old girl had been out of school a year and was irregular in attendance before that. She is now an unmarried mother.

A woman of fifty-six, who had lost a leg when a child, and two daughters aged eighteen and twenty were receiving help from the county. They owned property consisting of a small house and about six acres of land valued at \$600 with no incumbrances. They received \$30 a year for the use of the five acres as pasture land. The twenty-year-old girl earned six dollars a week doing housework but expected to lose her position soon as her employer was leaving town. Both girls had graduated from the local high school and had been considered capable students by the superintendent, who said that he thought either would make a good teacher. In fact, he had offered to assist each of them in securing a school and to arrange for them to take a summer normal course in a college near by. Neither had accepted his offer. A social worker was called to discuss plans with the mother and daughters by which the family could become self-supporting and dispense with county aid. The mother had some objection to every suggestion that was made. When finally asked if she did not want her two able-bodied grown daughters to be self-supporting instead of being known as county charges, she replied that she did not see why they should not be helped. She then volunteered that she and her mother had been aided by the county when she was a young woman. She related how the county had aided her family from the time she was twelve until thirty years of age. She had then married and her husband had been able to support the family until about ten years ago, when he became ill, dying two years later. In fact, the woman had received county aid just half of her life and saw no reason why her daughters should not do so.

The matter of pauperization is summarized by Miss Cottrell as follows:

If aid is given so bunglingly that children develop no normal attitude toward self-reliance, it is a dangerous practice, for it hurts permanently, while it helps only temporarily. It is easy for adults by repeatedly receiving help administered in the wrong way to lower their standards of self-reliance and respond more and more lethargically to opportunities for self-support. In childhood character is plastic and the effect takes deeper root. The obligation is ours to administer necessary relief in such a way that it will not blight but will stimulate normal character development. The spirit of self-reliance is a priceless possession and needs to be carefully nurtured.

84. FAILURE TO ATTEMPT RECONSTRUCTION OF DISTRESSED AND BROKEN HOMES¹

A fundamental rule in dealing with dependent families is to study the causes underlying the trouble, with a view to restoring the family to normal life and self-support. Evidence submitted to this Commission indicates that this rule has been quite generally ignored in dealing with families of dependent children in Iowa.

A father of a large family had been out of work for weeks. Aside from a few groceries, no relief was granted. When the last baby came, there was no money for medical services. In the interest of economy the only attendant on the mother at confinement was her husband, a good-spirited, ignorant farm hand, wholly inexperienced in such crises. The mother's life hung in the balance for days. Her suffering was acute. Finally the county provided a doctor and her life was saved, but she will be a permanent invalid. A thirteen-year-old child was out of school serving as housekeeper to the family, nurse to the invalid, and little mother to the flock of younger brothers and sisters. The father, still out of work, dazed by the misfortune which had descended on his home, wandered about the house, a tragic figure of despair and bewilderment. A trained social worker would have been able to prevent this tragic situation.

¹ From the *Report of the Iowa Child Welfare Commission*, pages 35-37. State of Iowa; 1924.

A man with six children was sent to Fort Madison for having failed to support his family. In his absence a mother's pension was granted in behalf of all the children, amounting to \$18 per month. The husband while in the penitentiary earned net wages amounting to \$22 per month. Because of failure of the county and state authorities to get together on the case, these wages were turned over to the man on his release after having served a year. The man was interested in another woman and proceeded to spend the money on her without giving any of it to his family.

A deserted mother appealed to the authorities in one county for help, and was given some food supplies. Information on file referred to two adult sons of this family. No steps were taken to locate the recreant father to try to prevail upon him to assume again his natural responsibilities. No effort was made to communicate with the absent sons in behalf of their mother and younger brothers and sisters.

As a contrast to this procedure, the methods of certain Ohio authorities were brought to the attention of the Commission. A man who had been ordered by an Ohio court to contribute to the support of his divorced wife and their two children had neglected his payments for about six weeks, becoming delinquent to the extent of \$40 or \$50, and had come to an Iowa city. He was located by the Ohio authorities by telegraph, a deputy sheriff was sent for him, and he was brought back to care for his family.

In Iowa counties employing trained workers, the county money is not used to support families of able-bodied men without at the same time using every effort to force support from the fathers. A case in point is published in Bulletin 100, entitled "The Iowa Plan for Organizing a Social Service League," published by the Extension Division of the State University.

A depraved father, an able-bodied young man, deserted his family after years of abiding in Iowa and neglecting his children. His wife secured a divorce when an order for alimony, which she had never been able to collect. The mother was an excellent manager and a skillful, industrious worker. She supported her children and was ambitious for their education. A friend reported the family to the local social worker. She feared that the mother was overwork-

ing and could not continue to carry the heavy burden without a break in health. But this family had never had "relief." The mother's fine spirit of independence revolted at the thought. With her helpful clues, the social worker located the man and his place of employment, nearly two thousand miles distant. She corresponded with the employer, who interviewed the deserter effectively. The first check for the payment of overdue alimony amounted to one hundred and twenty dollars. Second and third checks have followed, and the employer continues to exercise a wholesome effect on the delinquent father.

Another case from the same bulletin is as follows:

For the third time a husband deserted. He left a wife expecting confinement and three young children. The wife appealed for help and got it. The social worker also notified relatives in Nebraska about the family's predicament. The relatives volunteered to receive mother and children and care for them until after the birth of the baby. They appreciated being told of the situation. Before she secured transportation for the family, the social worker got from the mother all possible clues as to the deserter's whereabouts. She also kept in touch with the mother after the family left Iowa. She located the husband in Tennessee and reported to the sheriff. He went to Tennessee and brought the deserter back to Iowa. The judge who tried the case found the man guilty of wife and child abandonment, bound him over to the grand jury, and placed him on parole. He must report to the judge once a week. If he deserts while on parole and is located again, he can be sent to the penitentiary without further formality. This has been carefully explained to him. Meanwhile he is working. His wife and children have been brought back to Iowa and are supporting them.

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85. RAPID MULTIPLICATION to the DEGENERATE¹ of work, c

Reiterated over and over again in the reports of correspondents of the Commission is the problem of the hopeless misery of children bred recklessly in degenerate families. Typically such families are

¹ From the *Report of the Iowa Child Welfare Commission*, pages 43-47. State of Iowa; 1924.

carried over their straits by county relief, only to produce another baby and return for more help. Many of the worst cases are placed in state institutions, but instances have been reported of releases of feeble-minded girls in early womanhood, and of subsequent swift reproduction of their kind. The following cases are reported to the Commission :

A district judge reports two families which he has had in his court. One consisted of a husband and wife and seven children ranging in age from sixteen downward. The county superintendent had found this family in a one-room hovel, furnished with one bed and a pile of straw for sleeping accommodations. Neither of the parents had any idea of the ages of any of the children. Those of the family who had been in school had never been able to advance beyond the first grade. Both parents are hopelessly incompetent and should never, in the opinion of the judge, have been permitted to marry. The other case was a family of the same size, discovered last fall under practically the same circumstances, and cared for during the winter at the county home. The mother was apparently subnormal. The father, when asked by the county steward why he failed to send his children to school, replied that he could see no need for an education, since he had never had one and was getting on all right.

"The children of this first family in particular," says the judge, "will be public charges of the state as long as they live, and should they be at liberty at any time could under the laws of the state secure the right to bring another generation of like character into the world."

A striking instance, of which there is a very full record, of the way in which Iowa relief agencies have in fact, but unintentionally, promoted the birth of feeble-minded children is the story of a certain woman who was born in Iowa. She was placed by her mother, at the death of her father when she was five years old, on the county poor farm. It has been discovered that she never developed mentally beyond the maturity of a child six and a half years old. When she was thirteen years of age she was placed out to work, and told that she would have to do whatever she was ordered to do. To her

childish mind this included accepting sex attentions urged upon her by men and boys in the families where she worked. She promptly became pregnant and was returned to the poor farm for confinement. This episode was repeated in various forms eight times. In the midst of her career she married and had one legitimate child; the other eight were illegitimate. In 1919 this woman moved to Minnesota, came promptly to the attention of the Children's Bureau of that state, and for the first time was the object of an intelligent attempt to deal with her case.

It is a travesty on the Iowa situation that this child with a woman's body and a mother's responsibilities gave birth to eight illegitimate feeble-minded children without receiving any study by a worker trained in dealing with social or mental problems. It was necessary for her to go to another state and give birth to an eighth child illegitimately before the more adequate social provisions of that state took cognizance of her case. Iowa's need for a similar state children's bureau could hardly have stronger emphasis.

A statistical study made in a certain city in Iowa by the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station indicates that, in that city, families producing children of low mentality as shown by mental tests are multiplying much more rapidly than families producing children of greater intelligence and energy.

86. THE TARES BID FAIR TO CHOKE THE WHEAT ¹

In a rural part of Pennsylvania lives the L. family. Three generations studied "all show the same drifting, irresponsible tendency. No one can say they are positively bad or serious disturbers of the communities where they may have a temporary home. Certain members are epileptic and defective to the point of imbecility. The father of this family drank and provided little for their support. The mother, though hard working, was never ^kind to care for them properly. So they and their twelve children were frequent recipients of public relief, a habit which they have consistently kept up.

¹ From Popenoe and Johnson, *Applied Eugenics*, pages 167-168. The Macmillan Company, New York; 1918. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

Ten of the children grew to maturity, and all but one married and had in their turn large families. With two exceptions these have lived in the territory studied. Nobody knows how they have subsisted, even with the generous help they have received. They drift in and out of the various settlements, taking care to keep their residence in the county which has provided most liberally for their support. In some villages it is said that they have been in and out half a dozen times in the last few years. First one family comes slipping back, then one by one the others trail in as long as there are cheap shelters to be had. Then rents fall due, neighbors become suspicious of invaded henroosts and potato patches, and one after another the families take their departure, only to reappear after a year or two.

"The seven children of the eldest son were scattered years ago through the death of their father. They were taken by strangers, and though kept in school, none of them proved capable of advancement. Three at least could not learn to read or handle the smallest quantities. The rest do this with difficulty. All but two are now married and founding the fourth generation of this line. The family of the fourth son are now county charges. Of the fourteen children of school age in this and the remaining families, all are greatly retarded.

"There is nothing striking in the annals of this family. It comes as near the lowest margin of human existence as possible and illustrates how marked defect may sometimes exist without serious results in the infringement of law and custom. Its serious menace, however, lies in the certain marriage into stocks which are no better, and the production of large families which continue to exist on the same level of semi-dependency. In place of the two dependents of a generation ago we now find in the third generation 32 descendants who bid fair to continue their existence on the same plane — certainly an enormous multiplication of the initial burden of expense."¹

¹ Dr. W. E. Key, *Feeble-minded Citizens in Pennsylvania*, pages 11, 12. Public Charities Association, Philadelphia; 1915.

87. THE PROBLEM OF THE FEEBLE-MINDED¹

The term "feeble-minded" is used today as a generic term to include all the varieties of mental defect. In general three grades of feeble-mindedness are now recognized. The first or lowest grade is the "idiot," ranging in intelligence from nothing up to the intelligence of a two-year-old child. The second grade are "imbeciles," who range in mental age from 3 years to 7. The third or highest grade, the "morons," have intelligence ranging from that of a child of 8 to that of a child of 12 or 14 years.

The idiots do not have sufficient mentality to enable them to properly care for their own physical wants. The imbeciles, while able to attend to their own wants, to care for their person and dress to some extent, and to comprehend fairly well what is said to them, show by the most elementary intelligence and social tests a sub-normal mentality. The morons include high-grade defectives who, but for careful tests, would not be rated as feeble-minded. In each of these classes there are subclassifications, determined by not only the degree of intelligence but by social tests of conduct. Those of the third class are usually capable of some education, since they possess a degree of mentality only slightly lower than that of an adolescent child; yet they are not able to progress beyond that point mentally. Their chief difficulty seems to be in the lack of that coördination of mental faculties which makes the normal individual amenable to the ordinary social restraints. They do not possess a proper discrimination in the quality of actions.

Feeble-mindedness is due either to inherited mental defect or to arrest of the normal development of the brain. The latter may be due to pre-natal causes, to accidents at birth, or to subsequent accidents or diseases. It is estimated that two thirds of the cases of feeble-mindedness are the result of defective heredity. We may define feeble-mindedness, therefore, as *mental defect inherited, or produced by conditions preceding, at, or soon after birth which prevent the normal development of the mind, with the result that the person is not able to manage his personal and business affairs*

¹ From John L. Gillin, *Poverty and Dependency*, pages 317-329. The Century Company, New York; 1921. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

with ordinary prudence, and to conform his actions to the conventional standards of social morality. . . .

A PROGRAM FOR THE TREATMENT AND PREVENTION OF
FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS

Three general characteristics must mark any such program. The defective stock must not be permitted to propagate; society must be protected from danger by feeble-minded individuals; and the feeble-minded themselves must be so treated as to be as happy and as little burden upon the taxpayers as possible. To accomplish these purposes, the following measures are helpful:

1. *Methods of Commitment.* A difficulty often met with in securing proper care of the feeble-minded is their commitment. In many states it is impossible under the law to commit any one to an institution for the feeble-minded unless he is very patently an idiot or a low-grade imbecile. As a consequence, numbers of feeble-minded have been sent to asylums for the insane, to jails and prisons because feeble-mindedness is not understood by either the public at large or by the judges and juries.

Recently, therefore, efforts have been made to modernize the commitment laws. . . .

2. *Segregation.* Defectives who cannot be carefully supervised should be segregated. At present with so few institutions for the custodial care of the feeble-minded, such a policy is impossible. Practically every such institution in the United States has a long waiting list of persons adjudged defective by the courts. . . .

3. *Sterilization.* It has been suggested that since one of the objects of the care of the feeble-minded is to prevent their reproduction, they should be sterilized. A few Middle Western states have provided by law for sterilization in the case of those defectives who are in the reproductive period of life and whose defect is hereditary. . . .

4. *Parole under Supervision.* For some time in institutions for the segregation of defectives, the practice of parole under supervision has been in operation. Massachusetts has led in this constructive experiment. . . .

5. *Colonies for Feeble-Minded in Custody.* A stumbling block to the care of the feeble-minded is the enormous expense of supporting large numbers. New Jersey and Massachusetts have blazed the way to the economical custodial care of imbeciles, high-grade idiots, and low-grade morons who would be dangerous or in danger at large by establishing a colony connected with the parent institution, but at some little distance, as in the Waverley colony in Massachusetts and the Menantico colony in New Jersey. Wild land has been improved by a colony of selected men sent thither from the parent institution. It has been found that the higher defectives under direction can very economically clear and drain land and prepare it for useful cultivation. At Menantico in New Jersey they even made the cement blocks and built the buildings in which they were housed. In this institution they were housed at the cost of \$300, compared with the cost of \$1500 per inmate in the parent institution. . . .

6. *The Training of the Feeble-Minded.* . . . In our best educational systems the children who are two or three years backward in their grades are placed in special classes. While the special classes for the backward children is a movement in the right direction, it is now felt that after a certain stage has been reached, these children cannot be properly cared for in the public schools and should be sent to institutions specializing in the training of such pupils. Individual attention based upon study of each case must be given them.

Moreover, in the special institutions they are among people of their own kind and are not subjected to the abuse of the pupils in the public schools, where they are often the butt of jokes and sometimes the objects of brutal attacks and abuse.

In the special institution their training should extend to the utmost development of their capacities for practical usefulness. Then, as their condition warrants it, they can be paroled; if not, they can be retained in as useful a place as possible in the institution or its colony. . . .

88. THE ABOLITION OF POVERTY ¹

It is now evident, as has already been pointed out in this book, that the coming of the democratic society will mean the abolition of poverty. For it is inconceivable that such a society would tolerate this condition for any of its members. On the contrary, standards of living and efficiency would be established which would make poverty impossible. Furthermore, it is very doubtful if poverty can be entirely abolished under any other form of social organization, for it is probable that every other form would offer too much opportunity for exploitation to make poverty entirely impossible, though it is probable that poverty can be lessened much below the existing amount.

However, by the above statement I do not mean to imply that abnormal and pathological dependency will ever disappear entirely. On the contrary, a certain amount of such dependency will always be inevitable, because the struggle for existence will always cause a defective class not fit to survive which will have to be eliminated by natural selection, if artificial selection does not intervene to anticipate it. Under present conditions these individuals usually drag out a miserable existence in poverty aided in a haphazard way by philanthropy. But in the democratic society these individuals will be upon an entirely different status, as we have already pointed out earlier in this book. They will be cared for by the democratic state as unfortunate individuals who are unable to produce, but are nevertheless entitled to a subsistence in accordance with the humanitarian ideal of the democratic society.

. . . It goes without saying that the elimination of poverty will not prevent all human pain and misery. Defects and ailments of body, mind, and character will always cause much suffering. Friction and maladjustment in personal relations will always give rise to a good deal of unhappiness. Work will always constitute a wearisome and irksome burden. For these reasons and others which might be mentioned, there will always be enough and to spare of human misery.

¹ From Maurice Parmelee, *Poverty and Social Progress*, pages 454-456. The Macmillan Company, New York; 1916. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

At the same time, the elimination of poverty entirely or in large part will doubtless lessen human unhappiness more than could be accomplished by any other one change. Furthermore, the social organization which the elimination of poverty implies will in other respects as well be far more conducive to happiness than the present organization of society. It will promote human happiness by carrying mankind a long way towards the free and spontaneous expression of human nature which constitutes the normal life for human beings.

QUESTIONS

1. Enumerate the objective and subjective causes of poverty. Which one do you consider the most important?

2. Give illustrations showing that unwise methods of granting relief pauperize people.

3. What should be a fundamental rule in dealing with dependent families? Give evidence which indicates that this rule has been quite generally ignored.

4. Are degenerate families multiplying faster than families of greater intelligence?

5. Give instances to uphold your answer.

6. Define the term "feeble-minded." What are the three grades of feeble-mindedness?

7. Outline a program for the treatment and prevention of feeble-mindedness.

8. Can poverty be abolished?

9. To what extent will the elimination of poverty prevent human pain and misery?

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE SOCIAL SIDE OF BUSINESS AND THE PROFESSIONS

89. THE SECRET OF THE HONOR OF THE PROFESSIONS¹

. . . Whatever the learning or acuteness of a great lawyer, our chief respect for him depends on our belief that, set in a judge's seat, he will strive to judge justly, come of it what may. Could we suppose that he would take bribes, and use his acuteness and legal knowledge to give plausibility to iniquitous decisions, no degree of intellect would win for him our respect. Nothing will win it, short of our tacit conviction that in all important acts of his life justice is first with him: his own interest, second.

In the case of a physician, the ground of the honor we render him is clearer still. Whatever his science, we would shrink from him in horror if we found him regard his patients merely as subjects to experiment upon; much more, if we found that, receiving bribes from persons interested in their deaths, he was using his best skill to give poison in the mask of medicine.

Finally, the principle holds with utmost clearness as respects clergymen. No goodness of disposition will excuse want of science in a physician, or of shrewdness in an advocate; but a clergyman, even though his power of intellect be small, is respected on the presumed ground of his unselfishness and serviceableness.

Now, there can be no question but that the tact, foresight, decision, and other mental powers required for the successful management of a large mercantile concern, if not such as could be compared with those of a great lawyer, general, or divine, would at least match the general conditions of mind required in the subordinate officers of a ship, or of a regiment, or in the curate of a country parish. If, therefore, all the efficient members of the so-called liberal professions are still, somehow, in public estimate of honor, preferred before the

¹ From John Ruskin, *Unto This Last*, pages 25-28. Edition published by Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York; 1901.

head of a commercial firm, the reason must lie deeper than in the measurement of their several powers of mind.

And the essential reason for such preference will be found to lie in the fact that the merchant is presumed to act always selfishly. His work may be very necessary to the community; but the motive of it is understood to be wholly personal. The merchant's first object in all dealings must be (the public believe) to get as much for himself, and leave as little to his neighbor (or customer), as possible. Enforcing this upon him, by political statute, as the necessary principle of his action; recommending it to him on all occasions, and themselves reciprocally adopting it, proclaiming vociferously, for law of the universe, that a buyer's function is to cheapen, and a seller's to cheat, — the public, nevertheless, involuntarily condemn the man of commerce for his compliance with their own statement, and stamp him forever as belonging to an inferior grade of human personality.

This they will find, eventually, they must give up doing. They must not cease to condemn selfishness; but they will have to discover a kind of commerce which is not exclusively selfish.

90. THE PROFESSIONAL SPIRIT *versus* THE COMMERCIAL SPIRIT ¹

. . . There must be a reason for this persistence of the traditional antipathy toward solicitation and advertising by lawyer and doctor. What is it? This old oak has strong and firm roots. Shall it be cut down or torn up to make way for modern shrubs?

Let us grant all that the advertising gentry say concerning their work — there are some things even *they* cannot advertise. The breath of frost will kill the finest Beauty rose, though the sturdy pine will hold its head high above the snow. There are some things so delicate, so subtle, so like the rose, that the cold air kills them. Even advertising for churchgoing takes but the form of a preaching upon "Going to *church*." It does not say: "Go to Dr. Jones: he is the best preacher and has the largest audiences." It does not

¹ From Julius Henry Cohen, *The Law: Business or Profession?* pages 195-200. G. A. Jennings Company, Inc., New York; 1916. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

say: "Dr. Brown will heal your soul for a dollar any Sunday morning at ten." Nor does it urge upon you any particular church. No. It says: "Have you cast aside the custom and teaching of your younger days? Have you flung out of your mind — out of your life — the habit of churchgoing — that habit your father and mother once taught you? Are you walled in — shut off from something that calls for *your* active interest? Are you mentally blind?" Its advertising is limited to appealing to men to resume old habits of churchgoing. It names no church. It names no minister. When a church advertises, it confines its advertisements to a simple announcement of time and place and speaker, with an invitation the church may always make: "Come all ye that labor and are heavy laden."

Mr. Shoe-Man, you have shoes to sell. You may praise your product. Your son has to sell — knowledge? Yes. Services? Yes. And something more. Do you recall Sharswood's definition of the oath of "fealty" he took? Is your son not pledged to give loyalty to his client, to preserve inviolate his client's sacred confidences, to forget self in service for another? Can such fealty or service be bought and sold? . . .

The basis of the relationship between lawyer and client is one of unselfish devotion, of disinterested loyalty to the client's interest, above and beyond his own. Let the lawyer seek you for his own profit and you despise him.

Mr. Shoe-Man, would *you* repeal these two of the Canons of Ethics of the American Bar Association? —

27. *Advertising, Direct or Indirect.* The most worthy and effective advertisement possible, even for a young lawyer, and especially with his brother lawyers, is the establishment of a well-merited reputation for professional capacity and fidelity to trust. This cannot be forced, but must be the outcome of character and conduct. The publication or circulation of ordinary business cards, being a matter of personal taste or local custom, and sometimes of convenience, is not *per se* improper. But solicitation of business by circulars or advertisements, or by personal relations, is unprofessional. It is equally unprofessional to procure business by indirection through touters of any kind, whether allied real-estate firms or trust companies advertising to secure the drawing of deeds or wills or offering retainers

in exchange for exeeutorships or trusteeships to be influenced by the lawyer. Indirect advertisement for business by furnishing or inspiring newspaper comments concerning causes in which the lawyer has been or is engaged, or concerning the manner of their conduct, the magnitude of the interests involved, the importance of the lawyer's positions, and all other like self-laudation, defy the traditions and lower the tone of our high calling, and are intolerable.

28. *Stirring up Litigation, Directly or through Agents.* It is unprofessional for a lawyer to volunteer advice to bring a lawsuit, except in rare cases where ties of blood, relationship, or trust make it his duty to do so. Stirring up strife and litigation is not only unprofessional, but it is indictable at common law. It is disreputable to hunt up defects in titles or other causes of action and inform thereof in order to be employed to bring suit, or to breed litigation by seeking out those with claims for personal injuries or those having any other grounds of action in order to secure them as clients, or to employ agents or runners for like purposes, or to pay or reward, directly, or indirectly, those who bring or influence the bringing of such cases to his office, or to remunerate policemen, court or prison officials, physicians, hospital attendants, or others who may succeed, under the guise of giving disinterested friendly advice, in influencing the criminal, the sick, and the injured, the ignorant or others, to seek his professional services. A duty to the public and to the profession devolves upon every member of the Bar, having knowledge of such practices upon the part of any practitioner, immediately to inform thereof to the end that the offender may be disbarred.

91. SOCIAL ETHICS IN THE LEGAL PROFESSION¹

The ethical question which laymen most frequently ask about the legal profession is this: How can a lawyer take a case which he does not believe in? The profession is regarded as necessarily somewhat immoral, because its members are supposed to be habitually taking cases of that character. As a practical matter, the lawyer is not often harassed by this problem; partly because he is apt to believe, at the time, in most of the cases that he actually tries; and partly because he either abandons or settles a large number of those he does not believe in. But the lawyer recognizes that in trying a case his prime duty is to present his side to the tribunal fairly and as well as he can, relying upon his adversary to present the other side fairly and as well as he can. Since the lawyers on the two sides

¹ From Justice Louis D. Brandeis, *Business — A Profession*, pages 339-343. Small, Maynard & Co., Boston; 1925. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

are usually reasonably well matched, the judge or jury may ordinarily be trusted to make such a decision as justice demands.

But when lawyers act upon the same principle in supporting the attempts of their private clients to secure or to oppose legislation, a very different condition is presented. In the first place, the counsel selected to represent important private interests possesses usually ability of a high order, while the public is often inadequately represented or wholly unrepresented. Great unfairness to the public is apt to result from this fact. Many bills pass in our legislatures which would not have become law, if the public interest had been fairly represented; and many good bills are defeated which if supported by able lawyers would have been enacted. Lawyers have, as a rule, failed to consider this distinction between practice in courts involving only private interests, and practice before the legislature or city council involving public interests. Some men of high professional standing have even endeavored to justify their course in advocating professionally legislation which in their character as citizens they would have voted against.

Furthermore, lawyers of high standing have often failed to apply in connection with professional work before the legislature or city council a rule of ethics which they would deem imperative in practice before the court. Lawyers who would indignantly retire from a court case in the justice of which they believed, if they had reason to think that a juror had been bribed or a witness had been suborned by their client, are content to serve their client by honest arguments before a legislative committee, although they have as great reason to believe that their client has bribed members of the legislature or corrupted public opinion. This confusion of ethical ideas is an important reason why the Bar does not now hold the position which it formerly did as a brake upon democracy, and which I believe it must take again if the serious questions now before us are to be properly solved.

Here, consequently, is the great opportunity in the law. The next generation must witness a continuing and ever-increasing contest between those who have and those who have not. The industrial world is in a state of ferment. The ferment is in the main peaceful, and, to a considerable extent, silent; but there is felt today very

widely the inconsistency in this condition of political democracy and industrial absolutism. The people are beginning to doubt whether in the long run democracy and absolutism can coexist in the same community; beginning to doubt whether there is a justification for the great inequalities in the distribution of wealth, for the rapid creation of fortunes, more mysterious than the deeds of Aladdin's lamp. The people have begun to think; and they show evidences on all sides of a tendency to act. Those of you who have not had an opportunity of talking much with laboring men can hardly form a conception of the amount of thinking that they are doing. With many these problems are all-absorbing. Many workingmen, otherwise uneducated, talk about the relation of employer and employee far more intelligently than most of the best-educated men in the community. The labor question involves for them the whole of life, and they must in the course of a comparatively short time realize the power which lies in them. Often their leaders are men of signal ability, men who can hold their own in discussion or in action with the ablest and best-educated men in the community. The labor movement must necessarily progress. The people's thought will take shape in action; and it lies with us, with you to whom in part the future belongs, to say on what lines the action is to be expressed; whether it is to be expressed wisely and temperately or wildly and intemperately; whether it is to be expressed on lines of evolution or on lines of revolution. Nothing can better fit you for taking part in the solution of these problems than the study and preëminently the practice of law. Those who feel drawn to that profession may rest assured that you will find in it an opportunity for usefulness which is probably unequalled. There is a call upon the legal profession to do a great work for this country.

92. THE LAW: BUSINESS OR PROFESSION?¹

Now it is this very idea of service — a philosophy as true today of other businesses as it is of railroads and retailers — that runs through the whole of the ethics of the legal profession. The lawyer

¹ From Julius Henry Cohen, *The Law: Business or Profession?* pages 42-43. G. A. Jennings Company, Inc., New York; 1916. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

is an officer of the court. As such he must *serve*. He is the confidant of his client; he must give *service*. He is the spokesman for large civic interests, he is a citizen, and as such, must *serve*. He is a member of his profession; there, too, he must serve — if need be, in the unpleasant task of segregating his weak and sinning brothers from the rest of the community. *His* competition has always been upon the basis of service. The Romans and the English carried out this principle in all its applications. Even in England today a barrister may not bring suit for his fees and there the contingent fee is denounced, and made illegal. It is not merely his conduct in court or connected with some judicial proceeding that is subject to professional criticism and review. The lawyer in or out of court must conduct himself as a man of the strictest and highest honor. It will be recalled that, in a recent opinion, a lawyer is severely censured for writing a letter to the press defending a friend, in which he knowingly made misstatements of fact, though he believed his friend to be innocent and though he had not been retained and did not receive or expect any compensation. The doctrine of *caveat emptor* was not pleaded as a defense.

The changed complexion of business is very significant to the lawyer with some knowledge of the tradition of his guild. The profession of service offers fruitful analogies for the business man's newer philosophy. *No lawyer may represent conflicting interests*. The application of this fiduciary principle to the system of interlocking directorates is obvious. *No lawyer may deal personally with the property of his client*. The application of this principle to sales at profit of one's "inside" purchases to the corporation of which one is a director may not be so obvious. But such applications are becoming more and more obvious. The ethics of trade are approximating the ethics of the profession.

Yet it would seem that while one part of society has been professionalizing commerce, another has been commercializing the profession.

93. BUSINESS — A PROFESSION ¹

The peculiar characteristics of a profession as distinguished from other occupations, I take to be these :

First. A profession is an occupation for which the necessary preliminary training is intellectual in character, involving knowledge and to some extent learning, as distinguished from mere skill.

Second. It is an occupation which is pursued largely for others and not merely for one's self.

Third. It is an occupation in which the amount of financial return is not the accepted measure of success.

Is not each of these characteristics found today in business worthily pursued ?

The field of knowledge requisite to the more successful conduct of business has been greatly widened by the application to industry not only of chemical, mechanical, and electrical science, but also the new science of management ; by the increasing difficulties involved in adjusting the relations of labor to capital ; by the necessary intertwining of social with industrial problems ; by the ever extending scope of state and federal regulation of business. Indeed, mere size and territorial expansion have compelled the business man to enter upon new and broader fields of knowledge in order to match his achievements with his opportunities.

This new development is tending to make business an applied science. Through this development the relative value in business of the trading instinct and of mere shrewdness have, as compared with other faculties, largely diminished. The conception of trade itself has changed. The old idea of a good bargain was a transaction in which one man got the better of another. The new idea of a good contract is a transaction which is good for both parties to it.

Under these new conditions, success in business must mean something very different from mere money-making. In business the able man ordinarily earns a larger income than one less able. So does the able man in the recognized professions — in law, medicine, or engineering ; and even in those professions more remote from

¹ From Justice Louis D. Brandeis, *Business — A Profession*, pages 2-9. Small, Maynard & Co., Boston, 1925. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

money-making, like the ministry, teaching, or social work. The world's demand for efficiency is so great and the supply so small, that the price of efficiency is high in every field of human activity.

The recognized professions, however, definitely reject the size of the financial return as the measure of success. They select as their test, excellence of performance in the broadest sense — and include, among other things, advance in the particular occupation and service to the community. These are the basis of all worthy reputations in the recognized professions. In them a large income is the ordinary incident of success; but he who exaggerates the value of the incident is apt to fail of real success.

To the business of today a similar test must be applied. True, in business the earning of profit is something more than an incident of success. It is an essential condition of success; because the continued absence of profit itself spells failure. But while loss spells failure, large profits do not connote success. Success must be sought in business also in excellence of performance; and in business, excellence of performance manifests itself, among other things, in the improvement of products; in more perfect organization, eliminating friction as well as waste; in bettering the condition of the workmen, developing their faculties and promoting their happiness; and in the establishment of right relations with customers and with the community.

In the field of modern business, so rich in opportunity for the exercise of man's finest and most varied mental faculties and moral qualities, mere money-making cannot be regarded as the legitimate end. Neither can mere growth in bulk or power be admitted as a worthy ambition. Nor can a man nobly mindful of his serious responsibilities to society view business as a game; since with the conduct of business human happiness or misery is inextricably interwoven.

Real success in business is to be found in achievements comparable rather with those of the artist or the scientist, of the inventor or the statesman. And the joys sought in the profession of business must be like their joys and not the mere vulgar satisfaction which is experienced in the acquisition of money, in the exercise of power, or in the frivolous pleasure of mere winning.

It was such real success, comparable with the scientist's, the inventor's, the statesman's, which marked the career of William H. McElwain of Boston, who died in 1908 at the age of forty-one. He had been in business on his own account but thirteen years. Starting without means, he left a fortune, all of which had been earned in the competitive business of shoe manufacturing, without the aid of either patent or trademark. That shows McElwain did not lack the money-making faculty. His company's sales grew from \$75,957 in 1895 to \$8,691,274 in 1908. He became thus one of the largest shoe manufacturers in the world. That shows he did not lack either ambition or organizing ability. The working capital required for this rapidly growing business was obtained by him without surrendering to outside investors or to bankers any share in the profits of business: all the stock in his company being owned either by himself or his active associates. That shows he did not lack financial skill.

But this money-making faculty, organizing ability, and financial skill were with him servants, not masters. He worked for nobler ends than mere accumulation or lust of power. In those thirteen years McElwain made so many advances in the methods and practices of the long-established and prosperous branch of industry in which he was engaged, that he may be said to have revolutionized shoe manufacturing. He found it a trade; he left it an applied science.

This is the kind of thing he did: In 1902 the irregularity in the employment of the shoe worker was brought to his attention. He became greatly impressed with its economic waste, with the misery to the workers and the demoralization which attended it. Irregularity of employment is the worst and most extended of industrial evils. Even in fairly prosperous times the workingmen of America are subjected to enforced idleness and loss of earnings, on the average, probably 10 to 20 per cent of their working time. The irregularity of employment was no greater in the McElwain factories than in other shoe factories. The condition was not so bad in shoe manufacturing as in many other branches of industry. But it was bad enough; for shoe manufacturing was a seasonal industry. Most manufacturers closed their factories twice a year. Some manufacturers had two additional slack periods.

This irregularity had been accepted by the trade — by manufacturers and workmen alike — as inevitable. It had been bowed to as if it were a law of nature — a cross to be borne with resignation. But with McElwain an evil recognized was a condition to be remedied; and he set his great mind to solving the problem of irregularity of employment in his own factories; just as Wilbur Wright applied his mind to the *aéroplane*, as Bell, his mind to the telephone, and as Edison, his mind to the problems of electric light. Within a few years irregularity of employment had ceased in the McElwain factories; and before his death every one of his many thousand employees could find work three hundred and five days in the year.

Closely allied with the establishment of regularity of employment was the advance made by McElwain in introducing punctual delivery of goods manufactured by his company. Shoes are manufactured mainly upon orders; and the orders are taken on samples submitted. The samples are made nearly a year before the goods are sold to the consumer. Samples for the shoes which will be bought in the spring and summer of 1913 were made in the early summer of 1912. The solicitation of orders on these samples began in the late summer. The manufacture of the shoes commences in November; and the order is filled before July.

Dates of delivery are fixed, of course, when orders are taken; but the dates fixed had not been taken very seriously by the manufacturers; and the trade was greatly annoyed by irregularities in delivery. McElwain recognized the business waste and inconvenience attendant upon such unfulfilled promises. He insisted that an agreement to deliver on a certain day was as binding as an agreement to pay a note on a certain day.

He knew that to make punctual delivery possible, careful study and changes in the methods of manufacture and of distribution were necessary. He made the study; he introduced the radical changes found necessary; and he so perfected his organization that customers could rely absolutely upon delivery on the day fixed. Scientific management practically eliminated the recurring obstacles of the unexpected. To attain this result business invention of a high order was of course necessary — invention directed to the departments both of production and of distribution.

94. THE PROFESSION OF BUSINESS¹

R. H. Tawney, in *The Acquisitive Society*, defines a profession as "a body of men who carry on their work in accordance with rules designed to enforce certain standards both for the better protection of its members and for the better service of the public. . . . Its essence is that it assumes certain responsibilities for the competence of its members or the quality of its wares, and that it deliberately prohibits certain kinds of conduct on the ground that, though they may be profitable to the individual, they are calculated to bring into disrepute the organization to which he belongs."

That is the concept of a profession held by an eminent English economist. A celebrated American jurist, Mr. Justice Brandeis, puts it this way: "First: A profession is an occupation for which the necessary preliminary training is intellectual in character, involving knowledge and to some extent learning as distinguished from mere skill. Second: It is an occupation which is pursued largely for others and not merely for one's self."

If we examine business in the light of the various essentials above listed, I think we shall find that business can now lay good claim to being considered a profession. This claim rests upon the characteristics which it now manifests in four directions: In point of *preparation*, in point of *coöperation among its members*, in point of *social service*, and in point of *ethical standards*.

Thorough and persistent preparation in the body of organized knowledge having to do with his chosen work is the cardinal requisite of the professional man. A hundred and fifty years ago, a business man needed no such thorough grounding. Machinery was just beginning to be introduced, markets were not world-wide, occupations were as yet not highly differentiated, and business on the whole was relatively simple.

Since that time, what a change has taken place! Science and invention have given us huge machines and giant factories, applications of power to means of transport have given us immensely broadened markets, the complex channels of banking, the courses of

¹ From A. W. Shaw, "The Profession of Business," in *The Commerce Magazine*, Vol. 7, No. 5 (February, 1923). University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

capital investment and business cycles have given us problems of administration that tax the best intellects of the time! The business man today faces problems that the merchant-capitalist of the early eighteenth century never dreamt of. Business is no longer, to use Adam Smith's phrase, a mere contest of wits in "the higgling of the market." It is an intricate process of combining, with skill and effectiveness, labor, materials, and equipment to produce goods and services to satisfy the wants of society. And the processes of production are so roundabout, the channels of distribution so complex, and the operation of various financial and exchange mechanisms so subtle, that the highest orders of observation, analysis, and judgment are required.

More and more, it is recognized that specific training for business is not only desirable, but necessary to the most rapid and thorough mastery of commercial affairs. There are now upwards of 40,000 men of college grade specializing, not on subjects such as Latin or chemistry, but on *business*. In all of these institutions a high school education is a prerequisite to the pursuit of such a course; in many of them, several years of college work are required before entrance; and in one university the course in business administration is open only to college graduates.

But however specific, this training for business must not be narrowly vocational. It must be based upon a broad understanding of industrial society as it is today constituted. The division of labor has made us all specialists, and we too often tend to perform our part in some certain field of enterprise without thinking of our relation to the rest of what Professor Wesley C. Mitchell has well termed "the balanced system of business."

Not only, however, must the young man be trained for participation in industry, but the man already in business must constantly keep abreast of market and crop conditions, production and distribution costs, and financial affairs. In this fact is partial reassurance for those of the present generation who have not had the advantages of college training in a school of commerce: business education goes on continuously for all thoughtful business men. Just as there are magazines and lectures and clinics by which the ambitious doctor keeps up-to-date, so are there reports and treatises and expe-

rience meetings for the business man by which he may perfect himself in the rapidly accumulating standards of business operation. Government reports, financial articles, various economic services, and bureaus of business research are continually adding to the volume of available facts and principles which a business man can utilize to advantage in the conduct of his enterprise. Day by day "rule of thumb" methods and "hunches" are departing and scientific inference and deduction become the basis of business policy and procedure. A technique of business is developing.

This brings me to the second reason for regarding business as a profession: the coöperation today practiced by its members for the common good.

Thirty years ago, the methods of any one concern were a trade secret, to be guarded jealously. But particularly in the last decade, there has come over business a great change. Business now pools its knowledge, that all establishments may operate more effectively.

In various investigations recently conducted by several universities, thousands of establishments voluntarily have given up their private figures of costs, profits, salaries, rents, etc. In one trade, 1563 stores surrendered these figures in greatest detail, simply that all retailers in this line might have available certain standards and thus increase their effectiveness of operation.

In any gathering of men at a dealers' or manufacturers' convention business men spring to their feet to tell the trade what methods their firms have found to cut costs, increase turnover, and enable the sale of goods at lower prices. No convention of engineers or men of medicine could be characterized by any greater desire to interchange ideas and disseminate practices which result in the common good.

The third point, that in essence a business calling constitutes a social service rather than merely a means of money-making, is immediately borne out when the nature of economic activity of any kind is considered. The basic purpose of the various operations of business, whether of manufacture, trade, or transport, is simple and obvious: to satisfy the wants of society with goods and services. The immediate end, to be sure, is profit. But the underlying function

of industry and commerce is the production and distribution of goods to the community.

To just the extent that the business man improves existing processes or devises new methods of production or distribution, he renders an increased social service. His activities are what make the wheels of the world turn; out of them arise the problems with which the engineering, the law, and, in part, the medical professions are faced.

Not only do the operations of all businesses affect the welfare of the entire community, but there arises in many lines the opportunity to support campaigns or causes which directly increase human happiness or prevent disaster. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, for example, has embarked on a broad campaign to lengthen human life and thus to lower insurance rates, bringing policies which safeguard the lives of men's families within the reach of more people. The Illinois Central Railroad, to take another instance of this sort, in trying to educate motorists, and the work of all the railroads throughout the country in attempting to make persons "cross crossings cautiously," is the same sort of social service.

Unfortunately, a community in which individual freedom is conceived to be a basic principle cannot control men's activities, either through custom or law, completely enough to prevent some transactions in which money is made illegitimately and for its own sake alone. A business is really successful, however, only as it serves, and the success which a business man achieves is to be measured in the contribution he makes to the welfare of society through the effective administration of his undertaking. That service is the end of business endeavor is recognized by many men who consciously conceive their executive positions not as sacred rights or vested interests, but as trusts charged with direct responsibility to the public with whom their companies do business.

That business is coming to be so regarded furnishes the basis for my fourth point; namely, that certain ethical standards among business men have arisen. These standards concern not only the quality of goods, but the conditions under which they are made and sold.

Misbranded goods are now the exception rather than the rule. Since the examples set by John Wanamaker and A. T. Stewart, by far the great mass of stores sell under a one-price system. Chicanery and tacit breach of contract have well-nigh disappeared; "business honor" is a recognized byword. On the stock and produce exchanges, the sanctity of men's honor in commercial dealings is demonstrated daily when thousands of transactions, involving millions of dollars, which have taken place only at the instance of a spoken word or a gesture, are settled at the end of each day as simple routine.

In the sale of products, the Associated Advertising Clubs of America have since 1911 financed a campaign to persuade, or as a last resort compel, advertisers to state only the demonstrable merits of their goods. Men throughout the country have adopted this standard of honesty in marketing their products. Hudson Seal, as a name for furs, must now be accompanied by the parenthetical explanation, "Dyed Muskrat." Marshall Field's say "good" shoes, not the "best" shoes. Sears Roebuck put every word in a 1000-page catalogue to the acid test: "Money back if not satisfied." Business men are not as yet able to expel dishonest men from their membership as can a medical or legal association, but the man thought to be "crooked" is shunned at the club and not welcomed at chamber of commerce meetings. And the day may even come when the violator of the spirit as well as the letter of the law will be driven by his fellows from the practice of business.

Among the most interesting recent indications of the acceptance of professional standards in fields other than those such as law or medicine, where direct, formal training is required, is the Oregon Code of Ethics for Journalism. This Code was adopted by the Oregon State Editorial Association in January, 1922. Among its articles are found the following statements:

The printed word is the single instrument of the profession we represent, and the extent to which it is shaping the thoughts and the conduct of peoples is measureless. We therefore pronounce the ethical responsibility of journalism the greatest of the professional responsibilities, and we desire to accept our responsibility, now and hereafter, to the utmost extent that is right and reasonable in our respective circumstances. . . .

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We will regard accuracy and completeness as more vital than our being the first to print. . . .

By study and inquiry and observation, we will constantly aim to improve ourselves, so that our writings may be more authentic, and of greater perspective, and more conducive to the social good.

We repudiate the principle of "letting the buyer beware." . . .

We will not make our printing facilities available for the production of advertising which we believe to be socially harmful or fraudulent in its intent. . . .

We will regard our privilege of writing for publication or publishing for public consumption *as an enterprise that is social as well as commercial in character*, and therefore will at all times have an eye against doing anything counter to social interest.

A social and professional philosophy such as this is rapidly permeating other branches of business besides the publishing of newspapers and magazines. It is pervading all quarters of trade, finance, and manufacture — all that great group of activities which, conducted for the public good, make up the profession of business.

QUESTIONS

1. Upon what factors does our respect for the lawyer, doctor, and clergyman depend?

2. What are the reasons for the traditional antipathy toward solicitation and advertising by lawyer and doctor?

3. What is Brandeis's answer to the question, "How can a lawyer take a case which he does not believe in?"

4. Why does the Bar not hold the position it formerly did as a brake upon democracy?

5. What great work can the legal profession do today?

6. Show how the "idea of service" applies to the legal profession.

7. What are the peculiar characteristics of a profession as distinguished from other occupations?

8. What was the old and what is the new idea of a good contract?

9. How has this affected our ideas of the measuring of success in business?

10. What is the test of success in business?

11. What was the secret of McElwain's success? Show how he revolutionized the shoe industry.

12. What is a profession? Can business lay good claim to being considered a profession?

13. Why is specific training for business necessary?

14. In what ways are business men more honest today than formerly?

15. Give the main points of the Oregon Code of Ethics for Journalism.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

SPEEDING UP SOCIAL PROGRESS

95. SOCIAL IDEALS ¹

Deeper than all theories, apart from all discussion, the mighty instinct for social justice shapes the hearts that are ready to receive it. The personal types thus created are the harbingers of the victory of the cause of freedom. The heralds of freedom, they are also its martyrs. The delicate vibrations of their consciousness thrill through the larger social self which more stolid people still ignore, and the pain of the world is their own. Not for one instant can they know an undimmed joy in art, in thought, in nature, while part of their very life throbs in the hunger of the dispossessed. All this by no virtue, no choice, of their own. So were they born; the children of the new age, whom the new intuition governs. In every country, out of every class, they gather; men and women vowed to simplicity of life and to social service; possessed by a force mightier than themselves, over which they have no control; aware of the lack of social harmony in our civilization, restless with pain, perplexity, distress, yet filled with deep inward peace as they obey the imperative claim of a widened consciousness. By active ministry, and yet more by prayer and fast and vigil, they seek to prepare the way for the spiritual democracy on which their souls are set.

96. THE NATURE OF SOCIAL PROGRESS ²

When we say that man has advanced, or is advancing, of what lines of advance are we thinking? The lines of movement are really as numerous as are the aspects of man's nature and the activities which he puts forth. Taking his physical structure, is mankind on the whole becoming stronger, healthier, less injured by habits which depress nervous and muscular forces, and are the better stocks of

¹ By Professor Vida D. Scudder, of Wellesley College.

² From James Bryce, *What Is Progress?* in *The Atlantic Monthly*, C 147 (1907). Adapted by W. H. Hamilton for *Current Economic Problems*, pages 18-19; University of Chicago Press, Chicago; 1919. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

men increasing faster than the inferior stocks? Considered as an acquisitive being, has man more of the things that make for comfort, more food and clothing, better dwellings, more leisure? Intellectually regarded, has he a higher intelligence, more knowledge and opportunity for acquiring knowledge, more creative capacity, more perception of beauty and susceptibility to æsthetic pleasures? Considered in his social relations, has he more personal freedom, is he less exposed to political oppression, has he fuller security for life and property, are there more or less order and concord within each community, more or less peace between nations? Lastly, is man improving as a moral being? Is there more virtue in the world, more sense of justice, more sympathy, more kindness, more of a disposition to regard the feelings and interests of others and to deal gently with the weak? In each and all of these departments there may be progress, but not necessarily the same rate of progress, and we can perfectly well imagine a progress in some points only, accompanied by a stagnation or even a decline in other points.

When we talk of the progress of the world, do we mean an advance only in some, and if so in which of them? If in all of them, which are the most typical and the most significant? Suppose there has been an advance in some, and in others stagnation or retrogression, how shall we determine which are the most important, the most fraught with promise or discouragement? An examination of the language of popular writers indicates that the conception has been seldom analyzed. Such writers have seemed to assume that an improvement in some aspects of human life means an improvement in all, perhaps an improvement to something like the same extent. Another question suggests itself. Is the so-called law of progress a constant one? Suppose its action in the past to have been proved, can we count upon its continuing in the future, or may the causes to which its action has been due some time or other come to an end? I pass over other points that might be raised. It is enough to have shown how in some vague sense the current term has been used.

97. TESTS FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS¹

. . . Educational progress should mean generalizing social achievement, increasing self-control, and decreasing social control by repression.

. . . Tests for progress must be examined. First, the population test. Does progress mean necessarily a large and growing population? Does the total of well-being consist in a small per capita well-being multiplied into the largest number of units, or in a small number of units multiplied into a much larger per capita well-being? . . .

A second test is increasing health and longevity. An able American representative of the medical profession declared recently that "the average length of life is the one and only sure index of whether the world is growing better; it is the unemotional but inexorable measuring rod of real social progress that can be told in figures. Other standards of measurement there are, but they are mostly vague, and founded largely on faith and hope. Here is one that is based on definite statistical facts."²

. . . Third test: wealth. If we take wealth as a criterion of social progress, it must be from the standpoint of general participation in real wealth. There must be something more than shoddy campaign speeches about the full dinner pail and passing prosperity around. . . . Put in still another way, the economic test for social progress is the satisfaction of the needs of the individual more and more efficiently by means of community life.

. . . Fourth, the moral test. Does progress reduce to terms of moral progress? Whose ethical standards shall we apply?

SUMMARY

As the net result of all this discussion we come to the conclusion that an interest in human well-being is the basic test for social progress in any legitimate sense of the word. But this interest must become

¹ From Arthur J. Todd, *Theories of Social Progress*, pages 119-148. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1918. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

² *American Journal of Sociology*, 20: 449.

more and more conscious and rationalized. It must not remain the bovine contentedness of sharing a warmer stall and a better-filled manger. It must have a projective aspect. It must look forward to the "realization of an ethical order" which will yield definite and coherent guidance and support to human effort. It will not focus on increase of happiness as end and aim, for happiness can never be more than the accident or incident of progress. If progress has hitherto had any purpose at all, it is the preparation of mankind for rational purposive direction of its own future course, the enlargement of human powers to fit men for a future which they only dream of now but the general direction of which can be indicated clearly enough. The progress of society, then, is not merely moral progress, or intellectual progress, or material progress, or institutional progress, it is a complex and combination of all these and more. It is probable, however, that the natural order of these may be through the material and intellectual to the moral; the material furnishing the basis, the intellectual and institutional the means, working toward the moral as the result. But, remember, progress is not written into the nature of things: it comes, if at all, only as the fruitage of conscious and persistent human effort.

98. REAL *versus* ILLUSORY SOCIAL PROGRESS¹

In practice, the sociological theory of progress means that we must get rid of narrow, one-sided movements and developments in our social life. Our civilization is obstructed and menaced by one-sided development, one-sided efforts at reform, narrow group movements, aiming only at the good of particular classes or groups. All of these one-sided movements are of course based upon one-sided theories of social progress, such as those which we have just discussed. They rest upon the importance of some single element or aspect. But no true progressive policy which will be lasting in our civilization can be secured by such one-sided movements. Indeed, as we have already said, they present a grave danger, because they give rise to ill-balanced views of social life and to exaggerated and inharmonious

¹ From Charles A. Ellwood, *Introduction to Social Psychology*, pages 310-311. D. Appleton & Co., New York; 1917. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

ous developments. We shall not be able to secure any social progress which is worth while, until social policy is broadened so as to give duly proportionate attention to all factors in the social life. *This means that our social movements must be synthesized if any sort of satisfactory social adjustment is to be reached, and that they must all be given a humanitarian direction rather than a direction favorable simply to one class or group.*

Practically, also, the sociological theory of progress points to the enlargement of our social consciousness as the proximate means of progressive social development. The hope of human society, in other words, lies in the development of scientific knowledge concerning every phase of the social life and concerning the social life as a whole. It is through such scientific study and investigation of the social life that the value of each of its phases as a factor in progress must become apparent. And it is through the bringing together and the synthesis of all this knowledge in the science of sociology that the social life as a whole will become intelligible, and so subject to rational control. . . .

99. THE NEW CIVILIZATION¹

Good times have been so often overthrown by calamity that men scarcely trust their senses when evidences of prosperity confront them. Conservatism hurls charges of optimism and impracticability at those who admit they are cheered by present indications and takes little heed of the doleful tales and vague fears of current lore. Men reason as though it were normal to despond, and weak to color one's opinions with a vigorous independence. A doubting habit of mind affects even those who dwell upon the ills of the present in order to brighten the glories of some distant day. It is difficult to make vivid the picture of the civilization we might now enjoy side by side with the glorious vision of the ideal civilization drawn by the perfectionists. An ideal civilization is not a twentieth-century possibility. A thousand, perhaps many thousand, years

¹ From Simon N. Patten, *The New Basis of Civilization*, pages 185-199. The Macmillan Company, New York; 1907. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

must elapse before the multitude of material adjustments necessary to it will have been completed. In the meantime, society must either rest upon its old bases or else refashion itself out of the knowledge and resources within the environment at any given time. A higher civilization is a present possibility that may be realized by people living in this century. It is ready now to appear; but its emergence implies a change of opinions, ideals, and institutions, and a shifting from past to present conditions. And there must be no halt for more information, skill, or racial aptness.

Disease, oppression, irregular work, premature old age, and race hatreds characterized the vanishing age of deficit; plenty of food, shelter, capital, security, and mobility of men and goods define the age of surplus in which we act. Where food and capital are, there is work, and where there is steady work, progress comes even while wages remain low. The quantities of food and of capital will increase more rapidly than they have done, while the birth rate touches a lower figure every census. Population once pressed hard upon food and employment; now food is ready for consumers and capital calls for workers. Many occupations and many localities are hampered by a "labor famine" — a famine which will spread as harvests multiply and capital expands. It would already have been more seriously felt had the dearth not been concealed by a tremendous immigration, an extended employment of women and children, and the greater regularity of work. The regularity of work and women in industry have added to the family goods, even though they retard the advance of wages measured by the hour and day. But the shortening of hours, the exclusion of children from industry, and the raising of the home standard will check further increase of labor force in these directions. The demand for more workers must then be met by more families. Immigration has supplied them hitherto; but there are definite limits to that source of increase. . . .

The salient feature of the new civilization is work calling urgently for workmen; that of the old was the worker seeking humbly any kind of toil. To recall fleetingly how the lack of work has crushed and cowed men; how social traditions are formed on the existence of a servile class; how the scarcity of food and the fear of want have

shadowed the buoyant spirits of the poor and have bred race hatreds — to recall these things is to realize in part how fundamentally this one change will affect many familiar landmarks. The new civilization means a self-reliant workman, with freedom of thought and mobility of movement. It means the regulation and assurance of industry, and the worker squarely established in his environment, because he has become courageous enough to make use of what he already knows and to fit his acts to his situation. One chapter alone in history is comparable with the results which full economic freedom will bring about; political liberty has affected the institutions and ideals of nations as economic equality will after a shorter lapse of time. . . .

Education was socialized when men began to perceive its returns in efficiency and good citizenship. Industry will be socialized and poverty checked when health and energy are given their due consideration. Then a park will be made beside every schoolhouse, all water will be as pure as that flowing from a spring, light and air will be as clear in the city as they are in the mountains, and the street will be as clean and safe and honest as the home. Uncertain health is a potent cause of weak character. Neither productive power nor riches nor cheapened commodities can give the workers the normal stimuli of character building until they have been given good housing, elaborate sanitation, shorter hours of work, protection from disease, and the tempered life that these imply. Health is a matter of nutrition, not of heredity. Four out of five children are born with normal senses and a vigor that promises sound and rapid growth. It is the environment of the children of the poor that inflates the death rate and dwarfs them below the stature of a man.

There can be no permanent progress until poverty has been eliminated, for then only will the normally evolving man, dominant through numbers and keen mental powers, force adjustments, generation by generation, which will raise the general level of intellect and character. And when poverty is gone, the last formidable obstacle to the upward movement of the race will have disappeared. Our children's children may learn with amazement how we thought it a natural social phenomenon that men should die in their prime,

leaving wives and children in terror of want; that accidents should make an army of maimed dependents; that there should not be enough houses for workers; and that epidemics should sweep away multitudes as autumn sweeps away summer insects. They will wonder that the universal sadness of such a world should have appealed to our transient sympathies but did not absorb our widest interests. They will ask why there was some hope of succor for those whose miseries passed for a moment before the eyes of the tender-hearted, but none for the dwellers beyond the narrow horizon within which pity moves. And they will be unable to put themselves in our places, because the new social philosophy which we are this moment framing will have so molded their minds that they cannot return to the philosophy that molds ours.

It is for us to unite the social activities — whose motive forces are charity, religion, philanthropy, revolt, and unrest — into a philosophy that is social and not sectional, in that it gives to them all a re-organized rational body of evidence upon which to proceed. They will then understand each other while doing the work that transforms the world into a place worth living in. It was a perception that to sympathy and charitable impulse must be added knowledge and skill which founded the school of philanthropy. If the social worker would be a social philosopher and the reformer a builder as well as a destroyer, he must know how to use the matter and the spirit that makes the philanthropies, the trades unions, the settlements, the institutional churches, and the theaters. Economists groping among the formulæ of deficit are surprised and overtaken by the new world, and statesmen are bewildered by the surge of the new democracy of industrial liberty against the barriers of class. But these difficulties only prove that the new civilization will be ready as soon as social work has been made a science and is practiced with knowledge and ideals which make clear to the statesman who directs and the workman who produces the treasures in health and happiness and safety of the new time.

QUESTIONS

1. Why do the children of the new age, whom "the new intuition governs," increase faster than the rest?
2. What do we mean by progress? What do we mean when we talk of the progress of the world?
3. Enumerate the different tests for progress. Which one do you consider the best? Why?
4. What is the meaning of the sociological theory of progress?
5. What will be the salient feature of the new civilization? What was the salient feature of the old?
6. Why is it necessary to eliminate poverty if we expect to have permanent progress?

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

PERSONAL FREEDOM

100. LIBERTY ¹

It is hard to draw any line of demarcation between Civil Liberty and Individual Liberty. The distinction is rather historical than theoretical. Both consist in exemption from control; i.e., in the non-interference of State authority with the unfettered exercise of the citizens' will. But the conception of Civil Liberty was older than that of Individual Liberty. When men were fighting against oppression by kings or oligarchs, they assumed that there were certain restrictions to which every one must be subject by law, while there were certain other restrictions which must be abolished. It was against the latter, which nearly everybody felt to be oppressive, that they strove. Such were arbitrary arrests and general warrants and the power of the Executive over the Judiciary. What might be classed as being legitimate restrictions they did not stop to define, nor has anybody since succeeded in defining them, for the doctrines of thinkers as well as the notions of ordinary citizens have been different in different countries and have varied from time to time in the same country. Enough to say that although the conception of Individual Liberty may be made to include the exemptions our ancestors contended for in the seventeenth century, and though every kind of individual liberty may be called a Civil Liberty, there is this significant difference that the Civil Liberties of those older days were extorted from arbitrary monarchs, whereas what we call Individual Liberty today has to be defended, when and so far as it needs defense, against the constitutional action of a self-governing community. . . .

Our times have seen a growing desire to improve the conditions of the poorer classes, providing better houses and other health-giving conditions, fixing the hours of labor, raising wages, enacting compulsory methods for settling labor disputes. There is a wish to strike at the power of corporate wealth and monopolistic combinations by

¹ From James Bryce, *Modern Democracies*, Vol. I, pages 55-58. The Macmillan Company, New York; 1921. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

handing over large industries, or the means of transportation or such sources of national wealth as coal and iron, to the State to be managed by it for the common benefit. There is also a passion for moral reform conspicuous in the effort to forbid the use of intoxicants. In these and other similar directions the power of the State seems to open the most direct way to the attainment of the aims desired. But every enlargement of the sphere of State action narrows the sphere left to the will of the individual, restricting in one way or another his natural freedom. So long as the people were ruled by a small class, they distrusted their rulers, and would have regarded administrative interference in many of the matters enumerated as a reduction of their liberty. But this jealousy of the State vanished when the masses obtained full control of the government. The administration is now their own: their impatience desires quick returns. "Why," they say, "should we fear government? Why not use it for our benefit? Why await the slow action of ameliorative forces when we can set the great machine to work at full speed?"

These tendencies have during the last half century gained the upper hand, and have discredited, without refuting, the *laissez-faire* doctrine which had held the field of economic thought since the days of Adam Smith. They seem likely to keep the ground they have won. Regulative legislation may reduce the freedom of workmen and of employers, may take great departments of industry out of private hands, may impose new obligations and prescribe old forms of pleasure. . . . Minorities may fare hardly at the hands of majorities apt to believe that numbers mean wisdom, and persuaded that if they choose to impose a restriction on themselves they are entitled to impose it upon others. Nevertheless, where the evident good of society is involved, individual preferences will be forced to give way on the ground that to arrest the will of a majority is to sacrifice their liberty, and so neglect the happiness of the greater number for that of the smaller. But, whatever the future may bring, the freedom of thought, speech, and writing do not seem at present threatened. The liberty of the press is a traditional principle in the popular mind; democratic habits foster the sense of personal independence and express themselves in the phrase, "Live and Let Live."

101. INALIENABLE RIGHTS ¹

In the early history of contract absolute freedom to bind one's self is the badge of a free man, since any restriction upon such freedom would tend to assimilate him to the slave, who is below the level of contract. It was only after a long and terrible experience with debt slavery that the ancient lawgivers recognized that free will is not always a will to freedom and that they denied a man the power to bind himself into thralldom or to pledge his person for the repayment of a loan.

Under the feudal system the law of contract well-nigh swallowed public law. By the oath of commendation men could destroy at a stroke their own freedom and that of their descendants. The extension of such far-reaching effect to a promise was freedom of contract gone mad. The doctrine that men are "born free and equal" is not an assertion of natal equality in body or mind, but a rejection of the principle of inferior hereditary status fixed by the act of some ancestor.

Gradually it was found necessary to recognize in the normal individual certain powers essential to self-effectuation, of which he cannot divest himself; i.e., "inalienable rights." Hence modern law gives no force to a contract which without due equivalent cripples one's future freedom to act or to contract; e.g., to live in a certain place or outside a certain place, to marry or not to marry a certain person, not to carry on one's trade or business, not to exercise the right of franchise or to exercise it in a certain way, or to forego one's legal rights, as, e.g., the passenger's right to damages for injury through the fault of a common carrier.

Society will not permit the surrender of rights essential to the public welfare. Thus in some of our states the debtor cannot waive the statutory exemptions in his favor nor the mortgagor his equity of redemption. Legal standard insurance policies have virtually removed insurance from the domain of contract. Personal safety is not to be contracted away; one cannot legally bind himself to engage in dangerous work or to remain in a dangerous place. Stat-

¹ From Edward Aisworth Ross, *Principles of Sociology*, pages 373-375. The Century Company, New York; 1920. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

utes clothing the worker with the right to be paid his wages in cash and the right to indemnity for injuries received in the course of his work will not allow him to contract himself out of these rights. An agreement to assign to one's employer the patents of all one's future inventions is invalid unless restricted to inventions of a particular character. The courts throw out an unlimited contract of a technical employee not to set himself up in business, not to use in the service of another knowledge of secret processes which he may have acquired in the course of his employment. In Germany there is doubt as to the validity of the clause in the contract of an apprentice binding him not to compete with his master in later life or to follow his trade within the German Empire. In all these cases, what at first glance appears a fetter on the worker's freedom to contract is really an enlargement of his freedom, since it prevents the stronger from snatching out of the passing distress or dependence of the weaker a lasting advantage over him.

Thus we see that the celebrated assertion of the American Declaration of Independence that men "are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights" is not a "glittering generality" but the epitome of a great historic movement.

102. PRESERVING FREEDOM UNDER ORGANIZATION¹

Since it is the fate of most of us to work in some kind of organization and since no organization can function without discipline, what is to become of individual freedom? There are various means of saving the member from being swallowed up in the organization:

1. *By securing to the individual member of the organization a voice and a share in determining the rules and policies by which he is bound.* This is virtually the principle of "government by the consent of the governed." It is exemplified in faculty control of the university as against presidential control, in lay control of the church as against clerical control, in the determination of party nominations and policies by the "rank and file," instead of by delegate conventions and central committees. The inmates of a prison are allowed

¹ From Edward Alsworth Ross, *Principles of Sociology*, pages 262-264. The Century Company, New York; 1920. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

to form their "mutual-welfare league." School children make rules for the use of their playground. The demand of the workers for a voice in the management of industry, in so far as it affects them, leads to collective bargaining or to industrial councils.

2. *By the organization confining its control to matters which clearly affect its legitimate work.* This implies that officers will not seek to control the political utterances or action of enlisted men, that the school board will not deny its teachers the freedom enjoyed by the ordinary citizen, that the priest will not from the pulpit tell his flock how to vote, that the employer will not control the life of his employeess outside the workshop. In each of these cases the claim is made that the restriction is essential to the success of the organization, but the claim must be resisted if we are not to become slaves.

3. *By protecting the right of members of an organization to have special unions of their own to look after their interests.* A century hence posterity will look back with amazement upon a time like this, when employers discharge workmen for joining a lawful association, the aims of which are not incompatible with their service. While the impartial now acknowledge the propriety of trade unions, the right of public servants to organize themselves is called in question. But experience shows that often bureaucrats will not pay attention to the reasonable protests of public employees unless there is behind them an organization which can make him trouble. Such an organization should exist, not for striking or sustaining strikes against the public, but for formulating, presenting, or agitating grievances and aspirations. The bureaucratic horror of unions of civil employees derives from the militarist theory that in the mail service or the telephone service, "back talk" is as intolerable as it is in the army.

4. *By preserving to the individual freedom of withdrawal from the organization.* The right to quit is a great safeguard of other rights. The right of workingmen to quit work in concert — i.e., to strike — should be upheld. Only lately has the seaman gained the right to quit ship whenever the anchor is down. Enlisted men ought to be allowed to get out of the army in peace time without excessive difficulty. The law will not allow the vowed monk (or nun)

to be detained in the convent against his will. Very properly the law sees to it that the terms of withdrawal from the building and loan association, the coöperative society, or the mutual life insurance company are not made unreasonably onerous.

103. GOVERNMENT BY CROWDS¹

In comparing democracy with more autocratic forms of government, this extent or range of crowd control over the individual is important. Of course, human beings will never permit to one another a very large degree of personal freedom. It is to the advantage of every one in the struggle for existence to reduce his neighbors as much as possible to automatons. In this way one's own adjustment to the behavior of others is made easier. If we can induce or compel all about us to confine their actions to perfect routine, then we may predict with a fair degree of accuracy their future behavior, and be prepared in advance to meet it. We all dread the element of the unexpected, and nowhere so much as in the conduct of our neighbors. If we could only get rid of the humanly unexpected, society would be almost foolproof. Hence the resistance to new truths, social change, progress, nonconformity of any sort; hence our incessant preaching to our neighbors to "be good"; hence the fanaticism with which every crowd strives to keep its believers in line. Much of this insistence on regularity is positively necessary. Without it there could be no social or moral order at all. . . .

The measure of freedom granted to men will depend, therefore, upon how many things the crowd attempts to consider its business. There is a law of inertia at work here. In monarchical forms of government, where the crowd will is exercised through a single human agent, the monarch may be absolute in regard to certain things which are necessary to his own and his crowd's survival. In such matters "he can do no wrong"; there is little or no appeal from his decisions. But the very thoroughness with which he hunts down nonconformity in matters which directly concern his authority, leaves him little energy for other things. Arbitrary power is there-

¹ From Everett Dean Martin, *The Behavior of Crowds*, pages 244-252. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1920. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

fore usually limited to relatively few things, since the autocrat cannot busy himself with everything that is going on. Within the radius of the things which the monarch attempts to regulate he may be an intolerable tyrant, but so long as he is obeyed in these matters, so long as things run on smoothly on the surface, there are all sorts of things which he would prefer not to have brought to his attention — as witness, for instance, the letter of Trajan to the younger Pliny.

With a democracy it is different. While the exercise of authority is never so inexorable — indeed, democratic states frequently pass laws for the purpose of placing the community on record “for righteousness,” rather than with the intention of enforcing such laws — the number of things which a democracy will presume to regulate is vastly greater than in monarchical states. As sovereignty is universal, everybody becomes lawmaker and regulator of his neighbors. As the lawmaking power is present everywhere, nothing can escape its multi-cycld scrutiny. All sorts of foibles, sectional interests, group demands, class prejudices, become part of the law of the land. A democracy is no respecter of persons and can, under its dogma of equality before the law, admit of no exceptions. The whole body politic is weighed down with all the several bits of legislation which may be demanded by any of the various groups within it. An unusual inducement and opportunity are thus provided for every crowd to force its own crowd dilemmas upon all.

The majority not only usurps the place of the king, but it tends to subject the whole range of human thought and behavior to its authority — everything, in fact, that any one, disliking in his neighbors or finding himself tempted to do, may wish to “pass a law against.” Every personal habit and private opinion becomes a matter for public concern. Custom no longer regulates; all is rationalized according to the logic of the crowd mind. Public policy sits on the doorstep of every man’s personal conscience. The citizen in us eats up the man. Not the tiniest personal comfort may yet be left us in private enjoyment. All that cannot be translated into propaganda or hold its own in a legislative lobby succumbs. If we are to preserve anything of our personal independence, we must organize ourselves into a crowd like the rest and get out in the

streets and set up a public howl. Unless some one pretty soon starts a pro-tobacco crusade and proves to the newspaper-reading public that the use of uicotine by everybody in equal amount is absolutely necessary for the preservation of the American home, for economic efficiency and future military supremacy, we shall doubtless all soon be obliged to sneak down into the cellar and smoke our pipes in the dark.

Here we see the true argument for a written constitution, and also, I think, a psychological principle which helps us to decide what should be in a constitution and what should not. The aim of a constitution is to put a limit to the number of things concerning which a majority crowd may lord it over the individual. I am aware that the appeal to the Constitution is often abused by predatory interests which skulk behind its phraseology in their defense of special economic privilege. But, nevertheless, people in a democracy may be free only so long as they submit to the dictation of the majority in *just and only those few interests concerning which a monarch, were he in existence, would take advantage of them for his personal ends*. There are certain political and economic relations which cannot be left to the chance exploitation of any individual or group that happens to come along. . . .

. . . Every effort should be made to *limit the tyranny of the majority to just these points*. And the line limiting the number of things that the majority may meddle with must be drawn as hard and fast as possible, since every dominant crowd, as we have seen, will squeeze the life out of everything human it can get its hands on. The minute a majority finds that it can extend its tyranny beyond this strictly constitutionally limited sphere, nothing remains to stop it; it becomes worse than an autocracy. Tyranny is no less abhorrent just because the number of tyrants is increased. A nation composed of a hundred million little tyrants snooping and prying into every corner may be democratic, but, personally, if that ever comes to be the choice I think I should prefer one tyrant. He might occasionally look the other way and leave me a free man, long enough at least for me to light my pipe.

True democrats will be very jealous of government. Necessary as it is, there is no magic about government, no saving grace. Govern-

ment cannot redeem us from our sins; it will always require all the decency we possess to redeem the government. Government always represents the moral dilemmas of the worst people, not the best. It cannot give us freedom; it can give or grant us nothing but what it first takes from us. It is we who grant to the government certain powers and privileges necessary for its proper functioning. We do not exist for the government; it exists for us. We are not its servants; it is our servant. Government at best is a useful and necessary machine, a mechanism by which we protect ourselves from one another. It has no more rights and dignities of its own than are possessed by any other machine. Its laws should be obeyed — otherwise the machine will not run.

As a matter of fact it is not so much government itself against which the democrat must be on guard, but the various crowds which are always seeking to make use of the machinery of government in order to impose their peculiar tyranny upon all and invade the privacy of every one. By widening the radius of governmental control, the crowd thus pinches down the individuality of every one with the same restrictions as are imposed by the crowd upon its own members.

QUESTIONS

1. What difference is there between civil liberty and individual liberty?
2. Today, along what lines is the State narrowing the freedom of the individual? Why are people willing to submit to this?
3. Discuss the means suggested by Professor Ross of saving the members of an organization from being swallowed up in the organization.
4. What is meant by "inalienable rights"? Enumerate them.
5. Show that the crowd limits the freedom of individuals.
6. Why is a written constitution necessary in a democratic form of government?

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

WILLING OBEDIENCE TO LAW

104. RESPECT FOR LAW IN THE UNITED STATES¹

In this matter of public opinion, I should like to give you a few illustrations. Whenever in New York a boy steals an apple from a pushcart man, the crowd laughs at the antics of the owner in his effort to protect his own and sides invariably with the little thief. In the dormitories of colleges I frequently see the rooms of students covered with so-called "trophies," things stolen from shop windows, signs taken from the tailor or laundryman, spoons from hotels and restaurants. All that is looked upon by our public opinion as only one of those little excesses of youth, at which one may laugh; but the youth becomes a man, and how can he be expected to respect the rights of others as a man if he has not done so in his youth? . . .

We impoverish the community by allowing this kind of grafting. I have seen in one little foreign country a large revenue derived from fruit trees planted on the public highways, each tree being rented by the year as far as fruit is concerned; and no one thinks of stealing that fruit, nor would children steal it. Now, I say that when we get to the point that we can reduce our taxes, our tariff, and our cost of living by deriving a substantial revenue from public property which is submitted to the public protection, then we may see the beginning of true respect for law, with all resulting benefits.

I find the difficulty lies with the education of children. I do not mean school instruction, but the home education of the child. That is where I look for improvement. That is where to place the responsibility. If there is disrespect for law, if there is lack of respect for the rights of others, if there is a corresponding impoverishment of the public, it is due to the fact that parents, as a whole, do not allow their children to be brought up considerate, respectful, and upright in all things. I call for that kind of improvement. The Church alone cannot do it, else it would have done it. Men who

¹ From Arthur von Briesen, "Respect for Law in the United States," in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. XXXVI, pages 210-211 (July, 1910). Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

seek to advance their own individual and supposed interests at the expense of their neighbors and who, therefore, are the men who do not respect the rights of others, may be looked upon as public enemies. Their kind must be eradicated and supplanted by the application of high moral principles to the development of the child. Every child embodies the germs for a noble, and likewise the germs for an ignoble, development. It is the duty of parents to foster the one and suppress the other. By neglecting this duty the brutal instincts are permitted to overshadow the longing for higher moral attainments as weeds keep down the most precious flowers. . . . In spite of the fact that we are a great nation and have accomplished great things, we can still advance and do greater things; and the greatest we can do is to bring up our boys so that every one, with healthy body, can be an Abraham Lincoln in point of morality and desire to be just in his doings to others.

105. A SQUARE DEAL FOR TOMORROW'S CITIZENS ¹

Not long ago I read in the same newspaper three items of startling moment if once their sinister significance is fully grasped. Let me state them briefly.

At a banquet in one of our large cities attended by the representatives of the Commission of Public Works of the state the guests were surprised and, if reports are correct, very deeply amused at the appearance of a generous supply of nursing bottles filled with a good brand of intoxicating liquor. By nearly all present this direct and flagrant violation of the Nation's duly established law was regarded as a huge joke.

A messenger of an important business concern in this same city, while passing through the hallway of the building in which his company is located, was shot dead and robbed of his payroll in broad daylight by a bandit who made good his escape.

In a large Western city a group of desperadoes, heavily armed, deliberately shot and killed at the very door of a Government depository for money armed guards who were transferring funds and,

¹ From Alfred E. Stearns, "A Square Deal for Tomorrow's Citizens," in *The Outlook*, pages 887-888 (May 6, 1923). Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

after a fusillade of shots, made their escape in an automobile, carrying with them several hundred thousand dollars of stolen cash.

The connection between these three recorded instances of lawlessness may not at once appear; but the connection is there, and no one but a fool can rightly claim to be unable to see it. And when once this connection is appreciated its threatening significance must of necessity startle us into something savoring of sanity and balanced judgment. Examine for a moment the purposes, the reasonings, and the reactions of these three groups of lawbreakers. It takes no stretching of the imagination to supplement the newspaper reports and to follow these stories of crime to their natural conclusion and sequel.

We are assured that those enlightened citizens who found themselves the recipients of much-desired but law-forbidden liquor at a public banquet were convulsed with mirth, and that at later investigations undertaken by those intrusted with upholding the law of the land it was almost impossible to secure necessary information because nearly all of those involved could see nothing but the humor of the situation. And why not laugh? Some one had perpetrated a "huge joke." Some one had "put one over." Some one had "worked a clever game" and "gotten away with it." But on whom was this joke perpetrated? On whom had this humorous thing been "put over"? On the Nation, of course. On the citizens who constitute the National life and of whose unselfish patriotism we have heard so much in recent years. But why bother with that? What kind of reasoning begets such infantile, if not sap-headed, mirth? We are painfully familiar with its type in these strange times in which we are living today. It runs like this: "I don't approve of this law. It was put upon the statutes by men and by methods with which I have no sympathy. It is an invasion of my 'personal liberties' [whatever that long-suffering expression may mean], and, since this is so, I do not mean to obey it if I can help it. Perhaps in this way I can lead the people to see its futility." And so in clubs and in homes — wherever friends gather and unloose the vaporings of feeble minds — the silly chatter goes on; mutual congratulations are offered and accepted; sympathy and encourage-

ment are freely extended and as freely welcomed. And all this in the realms of supposed culture and intelligence.

Unfortunately, the newspapers do not reveal so intimately the give and take, the reasonings, logical and illogical, in which the representatives of the underworld indulge. But echoes of it all reach us often enough, and again we need little imagination to translate into words the thoughts that are there, uttered or unexpressed. And these words have a strangely familiar and a sinister sound. In substance they are these: "I shot a man today and got away with his pay envelopes. We worked a clever game today down at that bank. We 'got away' with it too and cleaned up hundreds of thousands of dollars. We shot some of those slaves of capital in the process, but we 'put one over' and we won." And then the reasoning: "These laws were not made for me. They are here to protect the wealthy and the successful. I don't approve of them or of the men who made them. They run counter to my interests and they invade my 'personal liberties.' And, since this is so, I don't mean to obey them. Some day I hope, through my hostility, to see them overthrown." Again the silly chatter, the congratulations, and the encouragement. And this in the realms where murder and banditry and anarchy lurk and root and grow. Again something — a hideous thing this time — has been "put over"; and on whom? In the last analysis, it is not the business house or the bank, not even those whose lifeless bodies testify to their needless sacrifice. As before, the real victims and sufferers are the Nation and we who constitute the Nation's life and blood. Is there, then, no connection between lawlessness in high and low places? Only a fool would so contend.

I am aware that it will be at once argued that there is a vital difference between the breaking of the Nation's law and the transgression of that higher moral law that through the ages has proclaimed, "Thou shalt not kill." But in the eyes of ignorance the dividing line is hazy always and often invisible; and I am chiefly concerned just now with the vicious and the rapid undermining of the very foundations of our Government and our National life. For on these foundations rest ultimately our future happiness and the security of our persons, our homes, and of all those great institu-

tions — economic, educational, and others — built with labor and sacrifice through the passing years by men of vision and brains and endowed with a vital patriotism that found its finest expression in whole-hearted surrender to the challenge of duty rather than in stale platitudes about “rights” and “personal liberties.” A more immediate personal danger may be involved in the existence of those who through unfortunate inheritance, vicious surroundings, and unsolicited ignorance have developed distorted views of human society. But a graver menace lurks in the presence among us of those who, through fortune or ability, have attained positions of prominence and from that place of vantage flaunt the Nation’s laws in the faces of their less-favored fellow men, displaying their unfitness for citizenship in a democracy by their selfish unwillingness to accept its paramount obligation, the upholding of its laws. It is from this supposedly enlightened source that influences are today spreading perniciously through all classes of society, quickening into renewed life and activity the ignorant and unbalanced, the self-seeker and the unrestrained, until from the hooded and self-appointed punishers of wrong to the murderers in the slums we are witnessing an almost unbelievable carnival of lawlessness and crime.

106. THE LYNCHING ROLL OF HONOR ¹

Several reasons are given for the decrease in mob murders. According to the Commission on the Church and Race Relations, whose report is widely published and commented on,

The campaign for interracial coöperation, which includes the fight against lynching, has been started and built upon faith that Christians will join in a sound constructive plan to apply the principles of brotherhood and justice to race relations in America; that the principles of Jesus are sufficient to meet all the critical situations that confront us or that may arise, and that ways and means will be supplied for enlisting the forces of the churches and communities.

Christian men and women are facing the facts regarding lynching and are becoming aroused to the menace of it. The migration of negroes has aroused leading citizens also to inquire into the causes, and lynching has been given as one.

¹ From *The Literary Digest*, pages 32, 33 (April 5, 1924). Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

Tremendous educational campaigns have been carried on by the Federal Council of Churches, the Commission on Interracial Coöperation, the Women's Council, Methodist Episcopal Church South; other groups of Southern churchwomen, by the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People and by other organizations.

The threat of the passage of the Dyer Anti-Lynching bill by the United States Congress caused citizens and officials in many states to take means to stop lynchings. A similar bill has been introduced in the present Congress.

Several states have passed stringent anti-lynching laws. In some of these laws the family of the victim is given the right to sue the county in which the crime occurs. The widow of a negro lynched in South Carolina obtained a verdict of \$2000 under such a law. Officers of the law are becoming more active in preventing lynchings, as public opinion demands it.

Lynching will cease entirely when public opinion will no longer tolerate mob murder, because the great body of Christian people regard those who participate in mobs as criminals.

. . . But a study of the figures suggests to the New York *Evening Sun* that other excitants besides race hatred and mob impulse provoke lynching, and we have here some new and interesting observations:

Three of the upward jumps, those of 1892, 1908, and 1919, occurred in Presidential years or, in the last case, in time of high political feeling. The hatred of one kind of man for another has for some national politicians a value quite distinct from its logical merits. The figures suggest that a good many men have swung, first and last, because of campaign agitation and oratory.

The well-being of the people would appear from the figures to have something of an influence on their susceptibility to the lynching fever. The hard times of 1903 and 1908 coincided with rises in the annual total of victims. When times are hard, white man and negro oftener find themselves rivals in seeking work. Where lynching is done on others than negroes, the same increase of rivalry between other antagonistic races tends to raise the frequency of mob murders.

The figures for 1923 mark a year in which the South, where the majority of lynchings — though by no means all — occur, enjoyed rare prosperity and escaped serious political clashes. Its happy state may partly account for the rarity of lynching. But there are more enduring influences at work as well.

Education in the South, particularly in some of the states of the Atlantic border, now breeds in millions of minds the anti-lynching conscience that from the start prevailed among the highly educated class. Education of the negroes themselves has doubtless helped safeguard them. Above all, the

migration of the negroes from the areas where they found themselves least welcome has caused white neighbors to regret or to dread the departure of useful workers. These influences have permanent power to assure the negro and in general the victims of race antagonism against any return of lynching as it raged in 1892.

107. LAW IS EVER THE CORNER STONE OF SOCIAL ORDER¹

The power that compels obedience to law in America has arisen not from conqueror or superior class, but from the massed forces of common men. But the vice of a power too local and popular in its origin is weakness. The personal force of law-supporting individuals must be concentrated ere it can drive the machinery of justice with irresistible power. It must be, as it were, collected into reservoirs and then redistributed where needed. The merit of local enforcement of the law is its economy and its adaptiveness; its bane is a feebleness in dealing with the rich, influential, corporate, or collective lawbreaker. The condition revealed by the statistics of homicide, the high percentage of grave crimes never punished, the defiance of the law by the ill-disposed, the lapse of whole communities into vendetta, the frequent lynchings, the anarchy of corporate lawbreakers, and the increasing resort to the courts supported by the more highly organized Federal power, raise the question if we Americans have not been content with too simple an organization of the forces of the individual members of the community.

What is the place of law in social order? A concrete instance will make it clear. Mr. Hodgkin, seeking to explain the policy of Theodoric, the barbarian restorer of order in Italy, traces it to his early life in Byzantium:

He could see more or less plainly that the soul which held all this marvelous body of civilization together was reverence for law. He visited perhaps some of the courts of law; he may have seen the illustrious Praetorian Prefect, clothed in imperial purple, move majestically to the judgment seat, amid the obsequious salutations of the dignified officials, who in their various ranks and orders surrounded the hall. The costly golden reed case, the

¹ From Edward Alsworth Ross, *Social Control*, pages 122-124. The Macmillan Company, New York; 1901. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

massive silver inkstand, the silver bowl for the petitions of suitors, all emblems of his office, were placed solemnly before him, and the pleadings began. Practiced advocates arose to plead the cause of plaintiff or defendant; busy shorthand writers took notes of the proceedings; at length, in calm and measured words the Prefect gave his judgment; a judgment which was necessarily based on law, which had to take account of the sayings of juriconsults, of the stored-up wisdom of twenty generations of men; a judgment which, notwithstanding the venality which was the curse of the Empire, was in most instances in accord with truth and justice. How different must Theodoric often have thought in after years, when he had returned to Gothland, — how different was this settled and orderly procedure from the usage of the barbarians. With them, the "blood-feud," the "wild justice of revenge," often prolonged from generation to generation, had been long the chief righter of wrongs done; and if this was now slowly giving place to judicial trial, that trial was probably a coarse and almost lawless proceeding, in which the head man of the district, with a hundred assessors as ignorant as himself, amid the wild cries of the opposed parties, roughly fixed the amount of blood money to be paid by a murderer, or decided at haphazard, often with an obvious reference to the superior force at the command of one or other of the litigants, some obscure dispute as to the ownership of a slave, or the right to succeed to a dead man's inheritance.

While dread of the law is now less prominent than formerly among the motives to good conduct, and will, no doubt, in the future play a diminishing rôle, we should not look upon legal compulsion as a type of control society is destined to outgrow. In view of the falling off in the number of repressions where the law is well administered, the thoughtless might conclude that the smaller the grist the less the consequence of the mill that grinds it. But I cannot too often insist that the social mission of the law is not to make evildoers smart, but to deter from evil doing. Whatever the cave men may say, not the crimes punished but the crimes prevented should measure the worth of the law; and such a standard, were the statistics forthcoming, might show our courts and jails to be ten times as useful as they appear.

Nor is this all. If, out of a score of law-abiding persons, only one obeys the law from fear of its penalties, it does not follow that the penal system occupies a correspondingly insignificant place among the supports of social order. For the rules of the social game are respected by the many good men chiefly because they are forced upon the few bad. If the one rascal among twenty men might

aggress at will, the higher forms of control would break down, the fair-play instinct would cease to bind, and, between bad example and the impulse of retaliation, man after man would be detached from the honest majority. Thus the deadly contagion of lawlessness would spread with increasing rapidity till the social order lay in ruins. The law, therefore, however minor its part at a given moment in the actual coercion of citizens, is still the corner stone of the edifice of order.

QUESTIONS

1. In what sense can we say that public opinion makes the laws?
2. Give illustrations of lack of respect for law. Where does the blame lie?
3. Is there a difference between breaking a nation's law and breaking a moral law?
4. Is mob violence increasing or decreasing? Give reasons for this.
5. What is the place of law in social order?

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

CROWDS AND MOBS

108. THE MOB IN A COURT OF JUSTICE ¹

18. And they cried out all at once, saying, Away with this man, and release unto us Barabbas :

19. (Who for a certain sedition made in the city, and for murder, was cast into prison.)

20. Pilate therefore, willing to release Jesus, spake again to them.

21. But they cried, saying, Crucify him, crueify him.

22. And he said unto them the third time. Why, what evil hath he done? I have found no cause of death in him : I will therefore chastise him, and let him go.

23. And they were instant with loud voices, requiring that he might be crucified. And the voices of them and of the chief priests prevailed.

24. And Pilate gave sentence that it should be as they required.

109. THE MIND OF THE CROWD ²

Some crowds are heterogeneous; i.e., are composed of persons who at the given time possess conflicting purposes. A number of persons at a busy street corner are a heterogeneous group — they have varied purposes and are going in different directions. The real crowd is homogeneous; its members have a common aim. Further, each member is aware that the other individuals are stirred by the same purposes as he is.

The homogeneous crowd must have a leader. It moves frantically until it gets a leader. The members of a homogeneous crowd ordinarily suffer a lessened sense of individual responsibility, because responsibility is distributed among all. Anonymity tends to prevail. Excitement reigns, feelings rise, and the rational processes of thought are hindered. The members experience a heightened

¹ From the Gospel according to St. Luke, xxiii: 18-24.

² From Emory S. Bogardus, *Essentials of Social Psychology* (2d Edition), pages 202-206. Jesse Ray Miller, Los Angeles; 1920. Reprinted by special permission of the publisher.

state of suggestibility. People act less rationally when under crowd influence than as individuals. Feelings rather than reason secure control. Crowds act quickly but reason slowly. The crowd is recidivistic; its members revert to lower standards than ordinarily.

Freedom of speech is rarely tolerated by the crowd; any one who attacks the folly of the crowd is hooted. A crowd of capitalist financiers would refuse to listen to the harangue of a Bolshevik; and a crowd of Bolsheviks would not sit supinely under the lashing of a capitalist.

A person who makes an important decision while under the influence of the crowd has a hard struggle before him. Such decisions must usually be followed consistently by personal, thoughtful, and sincere attention on the part of interested people.

To get people together in a crowd offers a quick way to unify them. But the charlatan and mountebank are prone to manipulate people through crowd influence, whereas the educated advocate confines himself to addressing assemblies. To address a crowd one must usually belittle himself and reap a harvest of unstable decisions.

More wild enthusiasm for a given project can be created in a crowd than anywhere else. But such enthusiasm is generally swift to vanish — it lacks the depth which is worthy of any important enterprise.

There are spectator crowds and participator crowds. The spectator group may be single or double minded; it may be united or bi-partisan. The bi-partisan spectator crowd is in constant danger of degenerating. An athletic contest brings out two spectator crowds. First one spectator crowd and then the other will give vent to expressions such as these: "Kill them," "Give them the ax," "They are a rotten bunch." If the contest is close, the members of both spectator crowds will likely give way to their feelings and revert to blindly biased and almost savage partisanship — forgetting that the fundamental element in the contest is to afford physical training to all the members of both teams and exhibitions of skill for the enjoyment of the onlookers. The evils of intercollegiate athletics thrive because of recidivistic tendencies of spectator crowds. There would be no intercollegiate football games were it

not for the presence of spectators — hence the responsibility of spectator crowds is grave. If the influence of such a crowd causes students literally to hate neighboring educational institutions, then the main functions of athletics and education alike have been prostituted.

The participator crowd is a mob. It is a group of people who stone, smash, frighten, burn, kill. The participator crowd may be constructive, but usually becomes vicious. The mob is a group of persons in an unusually high state of suggestibility. It is a crowd that has become frantic. It is not necessarily a group of ignorant or wicked persons, but often is a group of ordinarily intelligent individuals who for the time being have resigned their individual standards. The mob is a monster, possessing gigantic power which causes it to throb throughout its being. It is a tornado, using its pent-up forces irresponsibly and ruthlessly.

The mob curve rises by a succession of curves until the objective of the mob is attained or until its force is spent. Then the curve falls rapidly, almost helplessly perpendicular.

Panic is a mob phenomenon that is caused by sudden and overwhelming fear. Napoleon was right when he instructed his officers to tell their men of dangers beforehand in a quiet, non-exaggerated way. In a panic the self-preservation instinct rules absolutely and violently.

On September 28, 1919, when the mayor of Omaha attempted to quiet the mob that was searching for a Negro, the mob threw a rope around the neck of the mayor, dragged him, and attempted to hang him — the chief executive of a metropolitan city and the elected representative of law and order. It is clear, therefore, that such a mob is a relic of barbarism; it has no useful function in a democratic state, built upon principles of legal justice. The atrocities which a mob will commit, whether it be a mob of Russian or Polish peasants in a "pogrom" or a mob of American citizens in a lynching escapade, are execrable. They can successfully be prevented only by a new birth of respect for social order and systematic progress.

An assembly is a group of people in which ideas rather than feelings are struggling with one another for supremacy. An as-

sembly is characterized by dignity, order, and thoughtfulness. It is so closely related to the crowd that it is subject to reversion at any moment to the crowd or mob. An assembly is a group of people who are controlled by cultural habits and by parliamentary rules of order. On occasion an assembly as dignified as the United States Senate defies the controlling sense of individual and social decorum and the rules of order.

Parliamentary rules have been compared by E. A. Ross to a strait-jacket upon a monster which is in constant danger of breaking loose. Rules of order function in keeping feelings down and the reason in charge. Personalities are taboo, the chair must always be addressed, the voting must be by aye and nay, and order must at all times be observed. Parliamentary rules at best are brittle hoops and easily snap. Let one man contradict another sharply and the two may rush together with clenched fists and angry shouts, even though the assembly be a Chamber of Deputies. Let the smell of smoke and a ringing cry of "Fire" enter a crowded church and the solemn assembly will burst the bonds of decorum, custom, rules, and reverence, and transform itself into a fighting mob, trampling women and children under foot.

110. THE SUGGESTIBILITY OF NEGROES IN A CROWD¹

... I once attended a simple "experience meetin'" of black people in Tennessee in which these influences were very visibly at work. At the outset the interest was not intense, and I noted several colored people on the fringe of the crowd sound asleep. Testimony flagged a little, and the leader called for that expression of tense emotional excitement known among the negroes as "mournin'." One speaker was floundering in a weltering chaos of images and seemed likely to sink without anybody to rescue him, when the leader arose and with animation on every feature shouted to the audience, "Mourn him up, chillun!" And the audience began — all except those who were asleep — at first soft and low, but rising higher and higher until they fell into a rhythm that carried every-

¹ From F. M. Davenport, *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals*, pages 50-53. The Macmillan Company, New York; 1905. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

thing before it, including the disciple who had been floundering for words in which to phrase his religious experiences. But he had no trouble longer. Images flashed through his mind with great rapidity and found quick expression on his lips. He spoke in rhythm, and the audience rhythmically responded. He was speedily in full movement, head, arms, feet, eyes, face, and soon he was lost in ecstasy. And the contagion swept everything before it. Even the sound sleepers on the fringe of the crowd were caught and carried into the movement as if by a tide of the sea. At the very climax of the meeting a woman rose to her feet, moved forward to the open space in front of the pulpit, evidently under the compulsion of the lyric wave. Having reached the front, after one wild burst of pent-up emotion, she fell rigid to the floor and lay there motionless during the rest of the service. She was not disturbed. . . .

But the most perfect example of this extraordinary suggestibility of the colored race that has ever come within the range of my investigation is one that I am now about to relate. I would not print it if I did not believe it to be absolutely genuine. It is such a perfect illustration because it dissociates the hypnotic element so completely from any true spiritual element, and shows the power of suggestion in its nakedness. In a little town between Cleveland, Tennessee, and Chattanooga, it was the purpose to give a donation to the colored minister. One of the brethren in the church volunteered to make a collection of the offerings from the various homes of the members, and an old colored woman, somewhat well-to-do, loaned her cart and a pair of steers to this brother to facilitate the gatherings of the donation goods. After he had been throughout the neighborhood and secured a reasonable load of groceries, provisions, and clothing, he drove off to Chattanooga and sold everything, including the cart and the steers, pocketed the proceeds and departed for Atlanta on a visit to his relatives. Consternation and then indignation reigned supreme in the home community when it became known that he was gone. After some time the culprit drifted back, in deep contrition, but having spent all. Indignation once more arose to a white heat, and it was determined to give him a church trial without waiting for any legal formality. The day was

set, the meeting was crowded; the preacher presided, and after a statement of the charges, announced that the accused would be given a chance to be heard. He went forward and took the place of the preacher on the platform. "I ain't got nuffin to say fo' mys'f," he began in a penitent voice; "I'se a po' mis'able sinner. An' de good book says we must forgib. How many times, bredren? Till seven times? No, till seventy times seven. An' I ain't sinned no seventy times seven, and I'm jes' go' to sugges' dat we turn dis into a forgibness meetin', and eberybody in dis great comp'ny dat is willin' to forgib me, come up now, while we sing one of our deah ole hymns, and shake ma hand." And he started one of the powerful revival tunes, and they began to come, first those who hadn't given anything to the donation and were not much interested in the matter anyway, then those who hadn't lost much, and then the others. Finally they had all passed before him except one, and she stuck to her seat. And he said, "Dar's one po' mis'able sinner still lef' dat won't fergib, she won't fergib." (She was the old lady who lost the steers.) "Now I sugges' that we hab a season ob prayer an' gib dis po' ole sinner one mo' chance." And after they had prayed and sung a hymn, the old lady came up, too!

111. THE EMOTIONAL RELIGIOUS REVIVAL¹

... The most notorious example of this intense form of the revival "crowd" is furnished by the Cane Ridge camp meeting of August, 1801, which took place in Bourbon County, Kentucky. . . .

The remembrances of that fateful gathering lingers in Kentucky after the lapse of a century. Nothing was lacking to stir to its profoundest depths the imagination and emotion of this great throng of men, women, and children. It was at night that the terrible scenes were witnessed, when the camp fires blazed in a mighty circle around the vast audience of pioneers bowed in devotion. Beyond was the blackness of the primeval forest, above the night wind and the foliage and the stars. As the darkness deepened, the exhortations of the preachers became more fervent and impass-

¹ From F. M. Davenport, *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals*, pages 73-80. The Macmillan Company, New York; 1905. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

sioned, their picturesque prophecies of doom more lurid and alarming, the volume of song burst all bonds of guidance and control, and broke again and again from the throats of the people, while over all, at intervals, there rang out the shout of ecstasy, the sob, and the groan. When daylight came, the temper of the assembly was somewhat modified, but there was the same tendency to boisterous emotion. Men and women shouted aloud during the sermon, and shook hands all around at the close of what was termed the "singing ecstasy." There are many suggestive bits of testimony to the highly overwrought state of these susceptible people. One of the most careful observers, the Reverend Mr. Lyle, who kept a diary and journal through this whole period, and passed calm judgment in the midst of the wild excitement, to whom we owe the best account of the extravagances and disorders, has described the crowd at Cane Ridge rushing from preacher to preacher if it were whispered that it was "more lively" at some other point, swarming enthusiastically around a "fallen" brother, laughing, leaping, sobbing, shouting, swooning. If the assembly were languid, he says, a few shrieks and one or two instances of falling would quickly arouse them, and as far in every direction as the people could see or hear, others would be caught in the contagion and would likewise fall. Children were allowed to preach, a little girl of seven being propped up on the shoulders of a man, and exhorting to the multitude "till she sank exhausted on her bearer's head."

And when we reflect that this mighty crowd did not break up on this occasion until the food gave out, but remained for days an agitated mass of humanity in the midst of such surroundings as these, contemplating the most momentous truths, ascribing every extraordinary nervous contortion to the mysterious agency of the divine, we can well understand how many, very many, would be physically and mentally overwhelmed. The whole body of persons who actually fell helpless to the earth during the progress of the meeting was computed by the Reverend James Crawford, who avers that he endeavored to keep an accurate account, to be three thousand persons, about one in every six. . . . Those who fell were carried to the meetinghouse near by. "At no time was the floor less than half covered. Some lay quiet, unable to move or speak. Some

talked, but could not move. Some beat the floor with their heels. Some, shrieking in agony, bounded about like a live fish out of water. Many lay down and rolled over and over for hours at a time. Others rushed wildly over the stumps and benches, and then plunged, shouting, 'Lost, Lost,' into the forest."¹

When the frenzy was at its height, these revival crowds were subject to a set of nervous and muscular manifestations probably as varied and terrible as ever afflicted a population in this world. There is no question of the truth of this sad chapter of pioneer history. The evidence is too overpowering and convincing. There is no question of the reality of the manifestations, though as elsewhere it is likely there was considerable humbug and deception. But there were many doubters, and the "fallen" subjects were often put to the proof. For instance, our friend the Reverend Mr. Lyle, furnished with a phial of hartshorn by a physician, "applied it to a stout young man who was lying flat on his back, and inadvertently allowed some to run into his nostrils. But he took not the slightest notice of it, so much was his attention absorbed by devotional feeling."²

. . . Next to the "falling" exercise, the most notable and characteristic Kentucky phenomenon was the "jerks." The unhappy victim shook in every joint. Sometimes the head was thrown from side to side with great rapidity. Again the feet were affected and the subject would hop like a frog. Often the body would be thrown violently to the ground, where it would continue to bound from one place to another. Peter Cartwright declares that he has seen more than five hundred persons jerking at once in his congregation. And Lorenzo Dow, writing of a time some years later, when the epidemic again broke out in that section, remarks that on Sunday at Knoxville, "the governor being present, about one hundred and fifty had the jerking exercise." It is still a phenomenon in the religious life of that country. I saw mild cases of it in the summer of 1903 among the whites in the Chilhowee Mountains. In 1800 no one was proof against it, saint or sinner, white or black, except, as Lorenzo Dow naively remarks, "those

¹ McMaster, *History of the United States*, Vol. II, page 581.

² Lyle, *Diary*, page 18.

naturalists who wished to get it to philosophize upon it, and the most godly. The wicked are more afraid of it than of smallpox or yellow fever."

It became an infectious disease. It passed the bounds of normal imitation and became a morbid contagion, and many a scoffer bit the dust in the midst of his contempt and derision. Peter Cartwright relates a serious instance of this which he vouches for as having taken place in William McGee's congregation. "There was a great work of religion and the jerks were very prevalent." A large man with a bottle of whisky in his pocket reviled both the jerks and the religion. In a flash the contagion pursued him, caught him, and though he started to run, it was useless. "He halted among some saplings, took out his bottle of whisky and swore he would drink the damned jerks to death. But he could not get the bottle to his mouth, though he tried hard. At this he became greatly enraged, fetched a very violent jerk, snapped his neck, fell, and soon expired, with his mouth full of cursing and bitterness."¹

112. CROWD MIND IN A NOMINATING CONVENTION²

It was the last day. The great hall was packed. The last phase of the convention had come. It was not a bossed convention even at the last. It was curious to watch the crowd of a thousand delegates making up its crowd mind. Such bosses as there were would have taken the Democratic nomination to Underwood. He represented the old order; something static, conservative, stable, the frock-coated, white-vested Cleveland Democrat. But the crowd mind said no. One could see it slowly saying no as the balloting proceeded around the hundredth ballot and started on the second hundred. McAdoo and Smith, by which one means not two personalities but the two ideas, the two extremities, the two clashing civilizations, still struggled against fate in their death grip; neither would relinquish. The hundredth ballot passed and they were still clinging to life. Each had fallen below a hundred. Davis

¹ Peter Cartwright, *Autobiography*, pages 50, 51.

² From William Allen White, *The Citizen's Business*, pages 110-112. The Macmillan Company, New York; 1924. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

was rising; Underwood was gaining a little; not much. For none of the Southern states, the neighbors of Underwood in Mississippi, Georgia, Tennessee, or Texas, would touch him. Yet they feared him; feared that he would make a rush and dominate the convention. The 101st ballot passed with Davis and Underwood below. The crowd in the galleries was not yelling. It was watching a thousand men and women on the floor making up a crowd mind — a most fascinating spectacle. The 101st ballot was announced. The order of announcement for ten days had been McAdoo first, Smith second, Underwood third, and so on down the line. The secretary stood up to read the result of the 101st ballot. It was deadly quiet in the hall. McAdoo fell below fifty. A great intake of breath ran through the crowd. They were looking at the end of a death struggle. Smith fell below thirty. A sigh was exhaled. It ran over the house, low, dreadful. The galleries were in at the death; the death struggle which had portended for sixteen days was over. Smith and McAdoo — the gay, prosperous, beautiful civilization of the East; the grim, just, thrifty civilization of the West; industrial America against rural America, that struggle dramatized by these two men was over. The thing was done!

After that another ballot made it almost sure that Davis would win. Underwood was not gaining; he was not the compromise necessary. The 103d ballot came, and quickly, as the roll was called, one knew what the end would be. State after state gave its solid vote to Davis. The drys were winning; the thrifty civilization of the West was winning. But the conservatism of the industrial East also was in the winning; a fair compromise. The crowd mind understood what it could get and took it. At the close of the balloting, before the result was announced, it was plain that Davis needed but a few more votes. State after state changed its vote and added the few necessary votes. For a few seconds there was a thrill; for a few minutes, possibly less than five, there was cheering and the band played something that ended in the "Star-Spangled Banner." There was a decent moment of singing, then it was over.

QUESTIONS

1. What are temporary groups? What is a heterogeneous group?
2. Why is a leader essential to the homogeneous crowd?
3. What are the chief characteristics of a crowd?
4. What are the chief differences between spectator crowds and participant crowds?
5. What is a great evil of intercollegiate athletics? How can this be avoided?
6. Give examples to show the suggestibility of the colored race.
7. Tell the story of the Cane Ridge camp meeting. What lessons can be drawn from it?
8. Show how the crowd mind influenced the National Democratic Convention of 1924.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

INDEPENDENCE

113. THE STRUGGLE OF CLASSES IN MODERN SOCIETY¹

The modern "social" question has been created neither by labor agitators nor by capitalist greed. It arose inevitably out of the development of machine industry. About the middle of the eighteenth century began a series of inventions which caused the textile industry to be translated from the worker's home or shop to the factory. Instead of owning his tools he worked the machinery owned by others and became a wage earner. Since then the factory system has extended to branch after branch of manufacturing, until the handicraft system is dead and we are committed without reserve to industrialism.

In nearly all branches the mass of equipment utilized in aid of production has enormously increased. The volume of capital per worker is constantly greater and from this flow very interesting consequences. Today, when a hundred cotton-mill operatives strike, they tie up perhaps ten times as much capital as a hundred operatives who struck eighty years ago. Stoppage is ten times as costly to the capitalist as it used to be and therefore he is more restless when tied up by a strike and resorts to more ruthless measures to break the strike. The strikers realize this and become heedless of public interests in their endeavor to foil the strike breakers. Of necessity, then, the parties to the labor conflict tend to become more reckless and lawless in their tactics.

Along with the growing prominence of the capital equipment, goes a tendency toward larger production units. Every census shows that the average plant in almost every branch contains more capital and employs more men. Automatically this diminishes the importance of the individual workman to the employer and augments the importance of the employer to the workman. In a ten-man shop the employer loses one tenth of his force and of his profit,

¹ From Edward Alsworth Ross, *Principles of Sociology*, pages 205-207. The Century Company, New York; 1920. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

if one disgruntled workman quits him. In a hundred-man shop he loses only one per cent, so that, as units grow, the protesting workman is less and less considered. On the other hand, the bigger the units, the fewer, so that it becomes less likely that the workman, without changing his residence, can find another factory in his line to employ him.

This automatic belittlement of the individual wage earner gives rise to an irresistible movement toward the organization of labor. Those who work in factories not theirs, with machines not theirs, on materials not theirs, under conditions they have no voice in determining, and turn out a product that belongs to some one else, discover that they have an interest in common. Only when combined can they compel the employer to pay heed to their grievances and claims. The union of the employees of a single concern may equalize them with their employer as respects power to inflict loss, but it does not equalize the two parties in respect to holding-out power. Hence, the workers unite themselves into wide unions in order to insure themselves financial support during a strike.

The hope cherished a generation ago that by coöperative production the workers would in time come to own the equipment with which they work has quite withered. There is no prospect whatever that the ownership of industrial capital will be disseminated through the working class. On the contrary, there is a clear tendency toward the concentration of wealth. The parties interested in machine industry more and more segregate into two groups very unequal in size — the capitalists, who contribute no personal exertion to industry, and the much larger body of workers, who may own their homes but hold merely a trifling amount of share capital.

Since the capital factor in industry constantly expands, the share of the total product going to ownership grows. The time may come when half or two thirds of the social income will be claimed in the name of property. Moreover, less and less is this sharing automatic. It is affected by the temper of the workers, their degree of organization, their feeling about their union, the officials, the tone of the press, the pulpit, and the platform, and the tenor of the instruction of the young. Hence, the more active portion of the capitalist class endeavors to spread over society an invisible net

of control. The class has lost most of its political defenses — hereditary upper houses, restricted suffrage, indirect election, party control, the unlimited use of money in politics — but it is not without secret compensating gains. The substitution of an untried public capitalism naturally alarms capitalists and stimulates their endeavors to control opinion. As quietly they draw together and develop weapons and tactics to repel attack, their leaders and agents become more formidable, not only to attackers, but to in-offensive individuals and interests which stand in their way. So the capitalist class not only defends itself, but aggresses at a time when aggression is madness. This is why the position of social-minded persons identified with neither class, who wish to investigate and consider until it becomes clear what economic system will be best for society as a whole, becomes constantly more difficult. Industrialism, child of the power-driven machine, molds society with appalling power and causes its members more and more to cluster at opposite poles of the social spindle. The situation is grave, and no one can tell how much graver it will become before an adjustment will be found which will pull this thorn from humanity's flesh.

114. WOMAN AND THE OCCUPATIONS ¹

. . . It is certainly true that the women of savage and barbarous societies and even the women of our own historical times have sometimes had a more honorable and functional if not a more romantic position than the women of today. But I notice that the women who are using this argument for the advancement of woman's suffrage are ignoring the fact that the women had even a more important relation to the occupational than to the political life of those times. It is true that the women of the Wyandot tribe of Indians constituted four-fifths of the civil council of that tribe, but they had no voice in the military council, and the recognition which they had was due to the fact that about four-fifths of the tribal industries were in their hands, in addition to the main care of the

¹ Adapted for A. B. Wolfe's *Readings in Social Problems* (published by Ginn & Co., Boston), from an article by W. I. Thomas in the *American Magazine*, pages 463-470 (September, 1909). Reprinted by special permission of Ginn & Co.

children. Tacitus states that the ancient Germans "consulted their women in all grave matters," but it is also true that in these times the women performed all the labors which built up society, except only the fighting. Before the Roman law had modified the German life, the woman was in possession of all the household goods, and in fact these could be inherited only by women, never by men. In somewhat later times, as we see from a collection of laws called the *Sachsenspiegel*, the man's goods were his sword, his harness, and his horse. As a further concession he had two dishes, a towel, a tablecloth, and a piece of bedding, which had originally been his war blanket.

The women of these times built the houses, cultivated and owned the land, and did the manufacturing, with such assistance as they could get from the men. They created the goods, and men had as yet devised no means of dislodging them from the position of importance to which their labors had elevated them. No one would wish to restore a state of society where the women bore the whole industrial burden, but it is noticeable that the effect of these varied occupational activities on early women was excellent, both in respect to their character and their social position. They were functional, strong, and normal, and they had a dignity and respect worthy of their work. And it is also significant that wherever women have some definite occupational interests in the society of today, they still retain this real dignity and respect, and they retain them nowhere else. In colonial and frontier life, and likewise in the poor and not-very-rich classes of society in general, woman is still functional and is more likely to be accepted as an individual. . . .

But what of the home? Shall the married woman and the mother undertake anything seriously outside the home? Yes, I think it is psychologically, if not economically, necessary that she should be no exception. . . .

The progress of the world is dependent on the emergence of what we call useful ideas, and these ideas almost invariably emerge in connection with the occupations. We cannot control or predict their appearance; we can only increase the number of chances of their appearance by opening the field of competition to the maximum number of minds. Such an idea as electricity sets thousands

to work along lines which they would otherwise never have entered, or gives a particular and socially valuable direction to their efforts. And thus the sum of knowledge is built up through those specialized pursuits which we call occupational. To exclude women from the occupations is therefore not only to exclude them from those forms of activity which most stimulate the mind, but to deprive society of the benefits which would follow both from their work and from those ideas which they would thus be put in the way of developing. And if there is any value in that variety of personality which compels men to different fields of interest, it is evident that women, differing from men in personality more than men differ from one another, are sure to contribute unanticipated results. Their admission is to increase the probability of the emergence of genius.

But I do not contend that women should go into the occupations so much because the occupations need them, though that is also true, as because of the need women have of the occupations. No one is altogether either male or female. The life of men and women corresponds more than it differs. There is no mental function absent in either sex. The occupations represent modes in which the mind expresses itself. They are the moral field, the field of will, of experience, of practice, and of concrete purpose. In this sense work is not a duty but a right. Society may not only claim service from the individual, but the individual may claim the right to function.

At present the strain on women even in the well-to-do families is intolerable. Their isolation, the triviality of their interests, and their dependence on the will of another make them nervous and intensely personal, and merely to relieve the tension, if for nothing else, they should prepare themselves for an occupation which they can practice before marriage, continue to practice if they do not enter marriage, which they may intermit in those intervals when the child is entirely helpless, and which they can resume when the child is adult and departed. Such a preparation would not only overcome their feeling of dependence but would tend to make their choice in marriage more rational. And I do not think the ideals of eugenics can be realized until woman is as free as man in the choice of a mate.

We must remember also that when women are naturally reared they have an astonishing amount of energy. The records of savage society and of peasant life still demonstrate this, as did the home before the coming of the machine. It may seem ungracious to say so, but we indulge a good deal in what the rhetoricians call the "pathetic fallacy" in connection with the bearing of children by women. Nature has given them an energy and disposition in proportion to this very serious function, so that under normal conditions it may be classed among the pleasures, almost among the intoxications. A normal woman can bear children and still retain more energy and more tenacity of life than nature usually gives a man. The close association which we find between marriage and the abandonment of concrete purposes is not, therefore, a sacrifice to motherhood but a habit. The ordinary woman instantly and utterly abandons all occupational preparations or practice at the altar, and this is quite aside from the anticipation of children. And the university women succumb almost as completely. Women, indeed, have improved in their mental attitude toward life since the early Victorian period to this extent, that they actually make a preparation for life, which they can use in case they do not accept marriage. But they keep only a wavering eye on the occupational outlook as a makeshift in case of their failure to realize on their matrimonial anticipations. Or at any rate when marriage is proposed to them they are unable to abandon the traditional view that marriage means a retirement from the world only less complete than retirement to a convent.

Woman's responsibility to the race may well be regarded as paramount, but it is not overwhelming, and it is neither wise nor kind to regard her life as a total loss in all points but this single one. It would, indeed, seem that opposition to woman's participation in the totality of life is a romantic subterfuge, resting not so much on a belief in the disability of woman as on the disposition of man to appropriate conspicuous and pleasurable objects for his sole use and ornamentation. "*A little thing, but all mine own,*" was one of the remarks of Achilles to Agamemnon in their quarrel over the two maidens, and it contains the secret of man's world-old disposition to overlook the *intrinsic* worth of woman.

115. THE MEANING OF SABOTAGE¹

This extract suggests some of the ways that ingenuity and cunning will devise when the situation seems to the workers desperate enough to warrant it.

"Strikes may gain certain advantages for the workers, but sabotage well conducted is sure to bring about the employer's discomfiture. According to direct actionists, sabotage should be as far as possible beneficial to the ultimate consumer, who, in the majority of cases, is a workingman. Workers in the wine and packing industries who refuse to 'wet' wines or who throw away harmful chemicals destined to preserve ephemeral liquids or embalm doubtful meat, cooks who waste so much margarine that this substitute for butter becomes as expensive as the original article, store clerks who refuse to sell a worthless 'just as good' article, insist on giving full weight, substitute truthful labels for those used on 'sales days,' painters who apply the specified coating of paint, etc., are engaged in beneficial sabotage.

"Another kind of sabotage aims at ruining the retailer's trade: bakers may produce bread and cakes unfit for consumption or containing foreign substances; clerks may refuse to show certain goods or call the customer's attention to their defects.

"Individual sabotage may assume a more aggressive form. Sebastien Faure and Pouget delivered recently on the subject of technical instruction as revolution's handmaid an address from which we quote the following extracts:

"The electrical industry is one of the most important industries, as an interruption in the current means a lack of light and power in factories; it also means a reduction in the means of transportation and a stoppage of the telegraph and telephone systems.

"How can the power be cut off? By curtailing in the mine the output of the coal necessary for feeding the machinery or stopping the coal cars on their way to the electrical plants. If the fuel reaches its destination, what is simpler than to set the pockets on fire and have the coal burn in the yards instead of the furnaces? It is child's play to put out of work the elevators and other automatic devices which carry coal to the fireroom.

¹ From George Gorham Groat, *Organized Labor in America*, pages 441-443. The Macmillan Company, New York; 1916. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

"To put boilers out of order, use explosives or silicates or a plain glass bottle which thrown on the glowing coals hinders the combustion and clogs up the smoke exhausts. You can also use acids to corrode boiler tubes; acid fumes will ruin cylinders and piston rods. A small quantity of some corrosive substance, a handful of emery, will be the end of oil cups. When it comes to dynamos or transformers, short circuits and inversions of poles can be easily managed. Underground cables can be destroyed by fire, water, pliers, or explosives, etc., etc."

Evidently there are two sides to this from the unionist point of view, though but one from the revolutionist's standpoint. This is seen in a discussion of the policy of sabotage as argued by the members of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union, where two different views appear. One runs as follows: "Sabotage can only be worked on a small scale where the individual is in a position to do his work upon his own initiative in a way that no one else is in on his plans. This requires independence of thought and action as well as one chief ingredient — nerve. I do not think there are enough commercial telegraphers with nerve to make the plan worth while." To this comes the reply: "Sabotage would fail to bring permanent results, because it is not the weapon of courageous and progressive men. It is on a par with the eavesdropper and stool pigeon of the telegraph companies. A coward's tool to be used in the dark and cannot stand the light of day. Suppose the Western Union did run into an epidemic of 'bulled' and 'lost' messages. Wherein would that help us organize? And that is what we are trying to do."

QUESTIONS

1. Give reasons why the parties to the labor conflict tend to become more reckless and lawless in their tactics.
2. What effect did the varied occupational activities of early women have upon their character and social position?
3. Should married women and mothers undertake anything serious outside the home?
4. Give reasons why women should enter the occupations.
5. Give illustrations of sabotage.
6. Why is sabotage not the weapon of manly and courageous men?

CHAPTER NINETEEN

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

116. FREE SPEECH¹

I, for one, am fully prepared to listen to any arguments for the propriety of theft or murder, or if it be possible, of immorality in the abstract. No doctrine, however well established, should be protected from discussion. If, as a matter of fact, any appreciable number of persons are so inclined to advocate murder on principle, I should wish them to state their opinions openly and fearlessly, because I should think that to be the shortest way of exploding the principle and of ascertaining the true causes of such a perversion of moral sentiment. Such a state of things implies the existence of evils which cannot be really cured till their cause is known, and the shortest way to discover the cause is to give a hearing to the alleged reasons.

117. WHAT FREE SPEECH IMPLIES²

We all believe in freedom of speech, but the question is, do we believe in it when it is disagreeable to us? After all, if freedom of speech means anything, it means a willingness to stand and let people say things with which we disagree, and which do weary us considerably. A good deal of the public discussion on the matter turns on the use of the word "rights." Those who want to speak freely insist on the right of freedom of speech; and, on the other hand, those who wish to restrict speakers talk of the right of the government to carry on war and the right of the government to maintain order, and there we have a deadlock. Each side says it is in the right, and that does not bring us anywhere at all. I think we shall do well to get away from this word "right" entirely, and look at it from another point of view — not from the legal point of view, but simply from the point of view of the individual human

¹ By Sir Leslie Stephen, English essayist and critic

² From Zechariah Chafee, Jr., *Freedom of Speech*, pages 366-375 Copyright, 1920, by Harcourt, Brace & Co., Inc., New York. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

being who wants to speak and the great group of human beings which constitute the society in which he speaks. That is, we have his individual interests and the interests of society at large.

First, we have the individual interest in freedom of speech. "Good," as Emerson says, "does not mean good to eat and good to wear." It means to live our own lives as fully as we can and to bear witness to the truth for which we came into the world. I did intend at this point to quote from *Jean-Christophe*, by Romain Rolland, but this is one of the proscribed books, for recommending which to his pupils a teacher was dismissed from the New York high schools, and so I will refrain. But instead, I will take a book which was written three thousand years ago, which is fairly safe — the *Apology* of Socrates :

If in acquitting me you should say: "We will not put faith this time, O Socrates, in your accusers, but will let you go, on the condition, however, that you no longer spend your time in this search nor in the pursuit of wisdom, and that if you are caught doing either again you shall die" — if, I say, you were to release me on these conditions, I should say to you: "Athenians, I love and cherish you, but shall obey the God rather than you; and as long as I draw breath and have the strength, I shall never cease to follow philosophy and to exhort and persuade any one of you whom I happen to meet. For this, be assured, the God commands; and I believe that there has never been a greater good in the state than this my service to the God; for I do nothing but go about persuading you, both young and old, not to let your first thought be for your body or your possessions, nor to care for anything so earnestly as for your soul." And, Athenians, I should go on to say: "Either hearken to my accusers or not, and either acquit me or not; but understand that I shall never act differently, even if I have to die for it many times."

That is the individual interest in free speech. Over against that we have to set the social interests — the interest in the safeguarding of the government and the nation from foreign attack, the interest in order, without which all our individual interests would be lost, the interest in moral and decent living, and the interest in the training of the young, which is the main thing that we have to consider here. As between that individual interest and those social interests, it seems easy to conclude that the individual interest should always give way; that, as is often said, freedom of speech

means liberty, not license; that we must not advocate anything that is wrong, anything which interferes with the social interests in order, and so on. But we have to remember that not only do we have the social interest in order, and in the education of the young, and in morals, but that freedom of speech is itself a social interest; that one of the purposes for which society exists just as much as for the maintenance of order is the discovery and the spread of truth.

Another member of the Lowell family, now president of Harvard, said in his report to the Corporation on the subject of freedom of speech, which every Harvard professor can regard as a *Magna Charta*:

Education has proved, and probably no one would now deny, that knowledge can advance, or at least can advance most rapidly, only by means of an unfettered search for truth on the part of those who devote their lives to seeking it in their respective fields, and by complete freedom in imparting to their pupils the truth that they have found. This has become an axiom in higher education, in spite of the fact that a searcher may discover error instead of truth, and he misled, and mislead others, thereby. We believe that if enough light is let in, the real relations of things will soon be seen, and they can be seen in no other way.

If Americanism means anything, it means free speech, right from the start. The Pilgrims came to Massachusetts to get it, and Roger Williams left Massachusetts, not only because he had his own religious views but because he attacked property rights in land not purchased from the Indians. Thomas Jefferson is usually considered a good American, but he said things about the desirability of rebellion that would make us all shudder. Alexander Hamilton argued for free speech here in New York, and James Russell Lowell called the Mexican War murder. The Abolitionists, men whom we all honor today, believed in Americanism — freedom to criticize the government of their day and the institutions of property of their day, which included a tremendous form of property — the property in negro slaves. I believe in private property myself, but because I believe in it I want to know why it ought to be supported.

And now, for the problem as it affects teachers. There are two views of teaching. One regards teaching as a sort of handing out

canned goods to the pupils, so much canned goods, so much knowledge. Well, if it is a canned-goods business, we may need a Pure Food Law to make sure the children get the right brand of "corn." But this is not the real theory. That was held by President Gilman of Johns Hopkins, when he took Professor Gildersleeve into a bare room and said, "Now, radiate." We have got to have the kind of teachers that radiate. For that we not only need contented teachers, but we must have teachers who think for themselves.

In a pamphlet issued in the New York school controversy, the "Reply of the Superintendents," is a statement that teachers should be obedient, and to support it a quotation about the sort of obedience that is necessary in the army and navy. Of course, teachers to some extent have to obey, but the kind of obedience we ought to get from them is far from the kind they get in the army and navy. In an autocracy, they might get along without teachers of independence. But this country has to be run by the people in it, and they are the people who are taught in the schools; and if the teachers cannot think for themselves, the pupils cannot think for themselves. They cannot discuss merely the questions of the past. They must discuss the critical problems of the present time if they are to solve them.

In England there is a leisure class to carry on the government. We cannot depend on that. Now, to what branch of citizens should we turn more for help in these matters than the teachers? And there is no class of people who are more injured by repression than teachers. If you say to any other man that he must not express his ideas on political questions, he can at least devote himself to his job, but if you confine the teachers in his thinking, what do you leave him? That is his job, to think.

People say that the teacher is employed by the government, and ought to agree with the government which pays him. The courts are just as much a part of the government as the schools — more so, for we have private schools, but we do not have private courts. Do we say that every one in the court must agree with the government? Do we say that the judges must always decide in favor of the government? Not at all! They often decide against it. We retain lawyers to defend criminals whom the government accuses.

It is even suggested we should have one lawyer to do so all the time. Progressive manufacturing corporations employ men just to criticize the products of the corporation and see how they can be better made. The teacher may be serving the state even while he criticizes it.

Of course, we have special considerations in the schools. We have this social interest in favor of the education of children. We cannot let everything be said in the schools that we might let be said outside. A teacher might be allowed to stand on his head at home, but not in school. In the same way there is much he ought not to do there in the way of free speech. If he taught that all boys and girls at sixteen were of a proper age to marry, he certainly ought to lose his position. He must adapt his discussion to the maturity of the pupils before him. And we certainly can require concentration on his subject; we can require judgment; we ought to demand of a teacher that he should be a master of his subject and a man of sound common sense.

But, on the other hand, you cannot control the mind of an expert. You cannot stand over Galileo and say, "Use your telescope, but do not find that the earth goes around the sun." You cannot stand over Pasteur and say, "Investigate spontaneous generation, but do not discover that spontaneous generation exists." You cannot stand over a man who deals with economics and say, "Find out that economics exists according to this or that system;" or, if he deals with history, say to him, "Find out that the men who are in power in Russia are a gang of thugs." If he finds it out, all right; but you cannot force him to do so, and you cannot force him to teach lies. Outside of the classroom he should be even more free. There he is a citizen, and as the New York constitution says, every citizen may safely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right; and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press.

Be sure that the right is abused. Be sure that freedom of speech weighs much in the scale. I think if every board which had to pass on the removal of a teacher would first read Milton's *Areopagitica* and Mill's *On Liberty*, that some of the decisions would be very different; because they would see that, after all, freedom of speech is just as important as the maintenance of order.

Why are we so worried? Why are we so scared? Have we no confidence in the arguments that can be used against these radical ideas? Parents argue on the other side, and we have with us the army and the police, and everybody who has a savings-bank account or a life-insurance policy. After all, the dangers of rebellion are not very great, unless our case is very weak, and I do not think it is.

118. A TEST CASE OF CONSTITUTIONAL FREEDOM OF SPEECH¹

THE FIVE SOCIALIST MEMBERS OF THE NEW YORK ASSEMBLY

Then stood there up one in the council, a Pharisee, named Gamaliel, a doctor of the law, who had a reputation among all the people, and said unto them: "Ye men of Israel, take heed to yourselves what ye intend to do as touching these men. Refrain from these men and let them alone: for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye can not overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God." (*The Acts of the Apostles*, v.)

On January 7, 1920, just before the second exclusion of Berger, and while the front pages of the press were still full of the great conspiracy which would have overthrown the nation had it not been for the New Year's round-up of four thousand left-wing radicals, the New York Legislature opened its session. Among the members of the Assembly or lower house were five Socialists: Clacssens, Solomon, Waldman, De Witt, and Orr. The Socialist Party of New York was a legally recognized party under the Election Law, so that its candidates had as much right on the ballot as Democrats or Republicans. All these Socialists except De Witt had previously served in the Assembly. The opposition of the party to the war had aroused no objection to its representatives at any time during the conflict, even when ten of them took their seats at Albany just before the Spring Drive of 1918. And on this day, in 1920, the five members took office without interference, swearing that they would support the Constitution of the United States and that of New York, and discharge the duties of their office to the best of their

¹ From Zechariah Chafee, Jr., *Freedom of Speech*, pages 332-339. Copyright, 1920, by Harcourt, Brace & Co., Inc., New York. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

ability, and that they had not influenced votes by bribe or promise. The New York fundamental law prescribes this oath and makes it all-sufficient :

"No other oath, declaration or test shall be required as a qualification for any office of public trust."

They occupied their seats and entered into all the business of the day, participating in the organization of the House and voting for Speaker and other officers. These proceedings occupied upwards of two hours.

Suddenly, the newly-elected Speaker, without notice or motion, directed the Sergeant-at-Arms to present the five Socialist members before the bar of the House. The surprised men were paraded down into the well of the Assembly chamber in front of the Speaker's rostrum, in full view of their fellow members and hundreds of guests who crowded the galleries and the floor to witness the ceremonies of the opening day. There they were lined up with the Sergeant-at-Arms on guard, while the Speaker addressed them :

"You are seeking seats in this body, you who have been elected on a platform that is absolutely inimical to the best interests of the State of New York and of the United States."

He then declared that the Socialist Party was not truly a political party, but a subversive and unpatriotic organization, and informed them that if the House should adopt a resolution declaring their places vacant they would be given an opportunity to appear before a tribunal to prove their rights to a seat in the Assembly.

A resolution drafted by the Attorney General in his capacity as counsel for the Lusk Committee was presented. This did not even recite that the members were charged with certain offenses, but stated facts as if already proved, an Alice-in-Wonderland performance of "sentence first — verdict afterwards." It declared that they were members of the Socialist Party of America, which adhered to the revolutionary forces of Soviet Russia and endorsed the principles of the Communist International of Moscow, and this was pledged to the forcible and violent overthrow of all organized governments. They agreed to be guided by the party constitution and platform, and could be expelled from the party for disobeying the instructions of the Executive Committee, which might include

aliens. The party by its St. Louis platform had opposed the war, and thereby stamped itself and all its members with an inimical attitude to the best interests of New York and the United States. These five members had subscribed to its principles and its aims and purposes against the government. They had been connected with an organization convicted of a violation of the Espionage Act. Therefore, it concluded, they were denied seats in the Assembly "pending determination of their qualifications and eligibility to their respective seats"; and the investigation of their qualifications and eligibility was referred to the Committee on Judiciary. The roll call was then taken and the five Socialists were called upon to vote as members. After the passage of the resolution they were hustled by the Sergeant-at-Arms out of the chamber, where their seats remained vacant for the remainder of the session, to the disfranchisement of sixty thousand voters of the City of New York. . . .

Charles Evans Hughes, leader of the American bar, former Governor of New York, former Justice of the Supreme Court, within forty-eight hours of the Albany imbroglio, wrote Speaker Sweet that it was absolutely opposed to the fundamental principles of our government for a majority to undertake to deny representation to the minority through the men who had been elected by a ballot lawfully cast.

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If there was anything against these men as individuals, if they were deemed to be guilty of criminal offenses, they should have been charged accordingly. But I understand that the action is not directed against these five elected members as individuals but that the proceeding is virtually an attempt to indict a political party and to deny it representation in the Legislature. This is not, in my judgment, American government.

Are Socialists unconvicted of crime to be denied the ballot? If Socialists are permitted to vote, are they not permitted to vote for their own candidates? If their candidates are elected and are men against whom, as individuals, charges of disqualifying offenses cannot be laid, are they not entitled to their seats? . . .

I understand that it is said that the Socialists constitute a combination to overthrow the Government. The answer is plain. If public officers or private citizens have any evidence that any individuals, or group of individuals, are plotting revolution and seeking by violent measures to change our Government, let the evidence be laid before the proper authorities

and swift action be taken for the protection of the community. Let every resource of inquiry, of pursuit, of prosecution, be employed to ferret out and punish the guilty according to our laws. But I count it a most serious mistake to proceed, not against individuals charged with violation of law, but against masses of our citizens combined for political action, by denying them the only resource of peaceful government; that is, action by the ballot box and through duly elected representatives in legislative bodies.

Speaker Sweet, after consultation with the Lusk Committee, replied that the Socialists were not expelled, but merely subjected to an investigation by the body which was charged by the Constitution with the authority to inquire into the fitness of those who seek seats in the Assembly. The question presented squarely was whether the different organizations which they sought to represent in the legislature advocated methods and employed tactics to overthrow our form of government, which would justify their exclusion from participating in legislative proceedings. He thus characterized the proceeding, as did the Attorney General of New York, not as an inquiry into the personal unfitness of these men or into the overt acts of any one, but into the opinions and words of whole groups. Finally he stated that criticism of the Assembly action without full knowledge of the facts gave aid and comfort to those elements of our society which seek the destruction of our institutions.

Nevertheless, criticism poured in, not only from Socialists and labor unions, but from large conservative groups like the National Security League. The New York Board of Aldermen refused to follow the example of the Assembly as to its Socialist members. For once the *Tribune* and the *Review* stood shoulder to shoulder with the *New Republic* and the *Nation*, and outdid them in the vigor of their condemnation. The Bar Association of the City of New York adopted resolutions offered by Governor Hughes, opposing any attempt to exclude legislators because of their affiliation with any political party, when they are seeking by constitutional and legal methods to bring about any change in the Constitution and laws. The Association appointed a committee of non-Socialists to appear before the Judiciary Committee of the Assembly and safeguard the principles of representative government. No action could have

done more to strengthen the confidence of workingmen in the public spirit of the bar.

The Assembly paid no more attention to these protests than the House of Commons to the remonstrances of Burke and the voters of England on behalf of Wilkes. The Assembly was past saving, but the nation was saved. The American people, long bedrugged by propaganda, were shaken out of their nightmare of revolution. The red terror became ridiculous on the lips of Speaker Sweet. A legislature trembling before five men — the long-lost American sense of humor revived and people began to laugh. That broke the spell. The light of day beat in not only upon the Assembly, but upon Congress and the Department of Justice. Never again did the hysteria of the past year return. The raids of January 2d were flood-tide, and with Governor Hughes' letter on the 9th, the ebb set in. Then followed the opposition of the conservative press and sober speakers to the pending federal sedition bills, the disclosures in the Colyer trial of the illegal character of the New Year's round-up, the decision of Secretary Wilson legalizing the Communist Labor Party, the wholesale cancellation of deportation warrants. The American people owe a lasting debt of gratitude to the New York Assembly.

QUESTIONS

1. What is the shortest way of obtaining truth?
2. What was Socrates' idea of freedom of speech?
3. What were the ideas of the founders of our government in regard to freedom of speech?
4. How much freedom should be given a teacher in presenting her subject (a) in school? (b) out of school?
5. Report on the story of the expulsion of the five Socialist Assemblymen from the New York Legislature in 1920.

CHAPTER TWENTY

PERSONAL COMPETITION

119. EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY ¹

In one sense the doctrine of equal opportunity is a basic principle of American democracy; and that, indeed, one of the most signal fruits of the establishment of our Republic has been the influence of its example in spreading the doctrine of equal opportunity — understood in this sense — throughout the world. That sense is not, however, that the Government and the laws provide that every human being shall *actually have* an equal opportunity with every other for the good things of life; but only that the Government and the laws shall *interpose no obstacle* to his having such opportunity.

The population is not divided into fixed classes, some being born to greater privileges than others; a child born in the humblest family may aspire to the highest position in state or nation, to the greatest professional honors, and to the most magnificent business success, without encountering any obstacle in the shape of discriminating laws. And more than this is true.

Not only the laws of America, but the spirit of American life, has favored a free opportunity for the development of every man's possibilities. We have always pointed with pride to countless examples of the rise of poor boys to the summits of political and financial eminence; and until within the last few decades, our country presented in this respect a shining contrast to the nations of the Old World.

All of us, then, are sincerely devoted to the doctrine of equal opportunity understood in this restricted sense; but there are many who, through a failure to distinguish between this restricted doctrine, this negative doctrine, and a much broader positive doctrine of equal opportunity, fall into a confusion of thought. . . .

¹ From Fabian Franklin, "A Primer of Political Economy," in *The Independent Inter-Weekly for Schools*, pages 5-6 (April 19, 1924).

EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES AND WELFARE LAWS

The nature and consequences of that confusion of thought will be considered presently. But first it must be observed that in our desire to open the door of opportunity to the great mass of the people, we do actually go much beyond the merely negative principles above discussed. Free public schools, free libraries and museums, compulsory-education laws, laws forbidding child labor — all these are designed largely for the purpose of assuring to the people in all stations of life, and especially to the children of the poor, a far nearer approach to equal opportunity than would fall to their lot if the community did not positively intervene for their benefit. One after another (and in countries far less democratic, as well as in our own country) these things have been instituted, as higher and higher standards of life have become recognized, and have come to be regarded as essential; and we all rejoice that this is so.

But all this may be so, and the process may go on much farther still, without at all involving the abstract doctrine of Equality of Opportunity. And it is of not merely theoretical but practical importance that we should honestly and clearly recognize the difference. To adopt measure after measure of *extension of opportunity*, each upon its specific merits, is one thing; to adopt them as measures demanded by the abstract doctrine of Equality of Opportunity is another.

A single illustration may suffice to make the distinction clear. During the past twenty years or more, enlightened people in this country have been practically unanimous in the desire to bring to an end the evils of child labor, as that term has been understood in the past. There may have been some difference of opinion as to whether the limit of age to which the term "child" is applicable should be fourteen or sixteen; this is a matter of detail. Recently, however, there has been started a movement to raise the limit to eighteen years; and this proposal is advocated on the express ground of its being demanded by the doctrine of equal opportunity. The great force behind the movement to abolish child labor has hitherto been something very different from this. Although there is no doubt that a desire to equalize opportunity has been a contributing

factor, the movement has rested in the main upon the instincts of common humanity and right feeling. Now, however, it is proposed that the Government shall guarantee to young people up to the age of eighteen time for pleasure and for intellectual advancement; and this proposal is urged not simply as a thing that is desirable, but as an inevitable conclusion from the abstract doctrine of equal opportunity.

UNLIMITED SCOPE OF THE ABSTRACT DOCTRINE

But obviously that doctrine, if accepted, carries vastly farther. I do not mean merely that, for youths free from the need of earning a living, educational opportunities continue to unfold beyond the age of eighteen; I mean especially that *time* is by no means all that is required to place these opportunities within their grasp. To wipe out these differences of opportunity, it would be manifestly necessary to abolish inheritance and bequest; and even this would be far from sufficient, for the *living* parent who is wealthy, — or, for that matter, who is wise, even if he is not wealthy, — is in a position to give his children immeasurable advantages from which children less favored are debarred. Unless we are prepared to go the length of putting the state in place of the parent as provider of all that is desirable for children and youths, we must judge the question of child labor by concrete practical standards and not in the light of a dogmatic principle of equal opportunity.

120. REGULATED COMPETITION PROMOTES SOCIAL PROGRESS¹

. . . Competition thus conceived is beneficent, and the competitive order, rightly controlled by society, furnishes to men the maximum of pleasure with a minimum of pain. Not only does it insure progress for the race, but to an increasing extent all men participate in the benefits of this progress. We have no evidence that the competitive order is ultra-rational, and still less need we believe that it is anti-rational, as Mr. Kidd asserts.

¹ From Richard T. Ely, *Evolution of Industrial Society*, pages 147-149. The Macmillan Company, New York; 1903. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

Competition, suitably regulated, gives us a brave, strong race of men. Will they not use their bravery and strength for themselves exclusively? This question arises naturally, but the nature of the answer to it has already been intimated. We do not observe that weakness and cowardice are favorable to a considerate treatment of others; bravery and strength make it relatively easy to be merciful; and there are ever in our civilized society forces at work which bend to the purposes of society bravery and strength. Social evolution accomplishes this result. It has been well said that as organic evolution gives us man, so social evolution gives the ideal man. But economic competition is an essential constituent of that social evolution which is producing the ideal man; and with competition are mingled other regulative principles. Psychologically, the ego and the alter ego, self and other self, arise together; economically they engage in many a conflict, but their spheres of interest are never entirely antagonistic to each other in the struggle for life. The ego — the self — enlarges the sphere of its selfhood; and this widening and deepening goes on until the Christian ideal of humanity is at last attained.

But the upward struggle is part and parcel of the attainment of ideals; and, rightly conceived, elevated to a sufficient height, this struggle in economic life means competition; it means rivalry in the service of self and other selves — rivalry in the upbuilding of the ideal man in the ideal society.

121. COMPETITION AND MORAL QUALITY ¹

. . . In closing this discussion of the effect of competition upon human character and happiness it is only right to state explicitly . . . that, whatever its evils, it promotes individuality, self-reliance, and earnestness.

In so far as a man can and does live upon traditional ideas and feelings, without the necessity of exercising choice or of testing his principles by use, he fails to achieve individual character and self-reliant manhood. It is by permitting this, and so relaxing the

¹ From C. H. Cooley, "Personal Competition," in *Economic Studies*, Vol. IV, pages 164-166.

tissue of personal character, that the most elaborate social systems of the past have decayed. The man who has made his way in a competitive order has learned to resist suggestions, to select and develop one class of influences and reject others, thus achieving self-knowledge and effective will. At the same time, as we have seen, he is forced to study other men and to develop a robust type of sympathy. The plainest workman, thrown upon his own resources, becomes something of a diplomatist, a student of character, an experimental observer of social forces. It is the tendency of a competitive society of the better sort to make every man a man of the world. He undergoes at once individualization and socialization, these two proceeding hand in hand, in a wholesome social life, each enriching the other.

Again, it is not the least of the merits of competition that it makes life earnest by giving to men a definite, difficult, and urgent problem to solve. The present age is alleged to be material, and so vulgar, with too much to eat and drink and wear and no faith or aspiration. But is it not surprising, on the whole, that this facility of production, this economic abundance, has produced so little frivolity, sensuality, and gross self-indulgence? The people of the richest and freest nation of the world are said to be too earnest, too striving; they are exhorted to relax a little, to permit themselves reasonable recreation. How can we account for this idealism, for it is certainly a kind of idealism, in view of the apparent fact that the spiritual forces have seldom been so ill organized as now, and the material forces never so well? How is it that the Saxon of today, with infinitely greater command over food and drink, is less of a sensualist than his ancestor was? Is it not partly that while the material inheritance is great, a share of it can only be obtained, as a rule, by a success more dependent upon moral and intellectual power than success ever was in the past, by the habitual exercise of self-control, foresight, patience, by the acquirement of character? The present régime usually gives a man material goods only upon condition that he become something of an idealist, allows him plenty only when he is proved capable of abstinence; and he often learns his lesson so well that he comes to care even less than is right for the pleasures of sense, and to turn from them when they are within his reach.

122. HAS COMPETITION OUTLIVED ITS USEFULNESS?¹

Every one of us is a competitor in several or many fields, while he is at the same time a member of various coöperating groups; and — what seems somewhat surprising — we are likely to compete with the very persons with whom we coöperate. For example, every important branch of trade has a rather elaborate system of coöperation, including associations, trade journals, price agreements, and the like; yet it is among those who follow the same trade that competition is most severe. Again, here is a factory full of operatives joined together in a labor union for the furtherance of common interests; yet they inevitably compete among themselves for reputation as workmen and advancement in grade, for office or influence in the union, and probably in many ways not directly connected with their work. It is the same with any active group. . . .

Because it requires intelligence and energy, because it is difficult, intelligent coöperation always lags behind the need for it; and we have the rule that competition, once set up, is likely to persist beyond the point where it ought to be dispensed with. Owing to this fact it is, in our own time, not only intense, but quite often excessive: it continues when it might better yield to coöperation. When the selective process has performed its function, when it has answered the question, what is the fittest, as well as it can, it ought to cease and give place to organization. To prolong it beyond this point is wasteful and destructive; the principle involved being the same as that rule of humane warfare which declares that the sacrifice of life ought not to continue when the result ceases to be doubtful. The failure to cease is an evil characteristic of a time like the present, when the work of breaking down obstructive organization, the outworn machinery of the past, has been pretty well accomplished, and the time for reorganization has arrived. During the breaking-down period the great need is to introduce the competitive principle; but when this has been achieved, and the building-up period has set in, the great need is to check it. If we look about us we see almost everywhere a condition of disintegration, of working at cross

¹ From C. H. Cooley, "Personal Competition," in *Economic Studies*, Vol. IV, pages 95-99.

purposes, which gives much color to the views of those who charge the age with "anarchical individualism" and call for repressive control. In almost every branch of trade competing agencies are multiplied beyond what is necessary or economical; there seem to be too many small groceries, drug stores, hardware stores, shoe stores, restaurants, and the like; that is, the goods they supply could be furnished cheaper if the same energy were concentrated upon fewer establishments. It is well known that more railroads have been built, in many instances, than there is any need for, and the rate wars that frequently take place have been shown to be injurious to the public as well as to the stockholders. We hear also that there are too many small churches, too many small colleges, and so on.

This state of things is slowly working its own remedy; the tendency, the current, is clearly toward organization. This is decidedly a time of "getting together," though the results so far achieved are small compared with what is needed. It is surprising to note the number and variety of conventions that take place in one of our larger cities during the summer months. From the advancement of science to billposting, almost every reputable occupation seems to have general interests which require the attendance of delegates at an annual meeting; not to speak of the hundreds of social and benevolent societies. The rise of department stores, the multiplication of private industrial corporations, and the formation of trusts are, of course, an outcome of the same tendency. Organization, since it brings power and success, is coming rapidly; and the very process of its coming introduces a new set of problems, *problems of symmetry in growth*. Some forms of organization, like the private corporations just mentioned, outstrip other forms which are required to balance or control them — legislation, for instance, administrative machinery, economic science, trades unions — and we have an overweening growth of power, which gives rise to much wrong, much protest, and to extravagant projects of reform. In this lack of symmetry, this narrowing of contemporary development into a few channels while others are almost dried up, is to be found the cause of many if not most of the evils characteristic of our time.

123. FAIR COMPETITION IN BUSINESS ¹

. . . Referring again to the Federal Trade Commission Law, which declares that "unfair methods of competition in commerce are hereby declared unlawful," we ask, What is meant in this law by unfair competition? The law will have to be enforced by the courts and when the courts are asked to decide what are unfair methods of competition, they probably will be guided in part by the decisions which courts have made in the past. A great many practices have been charged with being unfair, and in the case of some of these practices there is no settled opinion; but many cases have been decided, and it is possible to point out some of the leading kinds of unfair competition.

Some of the clearest cases are those in which a rival induces customers to break contracts which they already have made with his competitors. Sometimes fraud or intimidation has been used. A publishing house which intentionally made false statements about the merits of its own and a rival publisher's works for the purpose of inducing the latter's subscribers to break their contracts and purchase books of the former, was declared to be acting unlawfully. An ice company threatened to stop selling to a wholesale company, which it was under contract to supply, unless the latter company would break its contract with a dairy company. The wholesale company yielded, but sued the ice manufacturer and won its case. An association of laundrymen induced other laundries, by offers of money and by threats to ruin their business, to break their contracts with a laundry agent whom they were trying to compel to maintain a scale of prices. It was held that the laundry agent could obtain damages.

Even where no such unlawful means as fraud or violence are used to persuade men to break their contracts, it has sometimes been held that a company has no right to persuade another company to break its contracts with a rival; and again such conduct has sometimes been allowed by the courts.

Inducing employees of a rival company to betray the trade

¹ From James Hayden Tufts, *The Real Business of Living*, pages 284-296. Henry Holt & Co., New York; 1918. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

secrets of their employers is a practice which has been forbidden by the courts, especially where the employee stood in a confidential relation so that there was an implied contract on his part to keep the secrets of his employer. Closely similar to the practice of getting trade secrets unfairly is the practice of hiring employees of a rival for the purpose of securing confidential information about his business. It has been decided that an employee has no right to take with him to another competing firm a list of customers which he had with his former employer. Of course if the list of customers were a published list which any company might find and use, the mere fact that a man had used it in working for one firm would not prevent his using it when working for another.

A kind of competition which has repeatedly been declared unfair is that of attempting to injure a competitor by libel or slander, or by disparaging his goods. To refer to a rival trade journal as a "fake"; to charge a rival press association with stealing news by means of tapped wires; to charge a publisher with having sold the support of his newspaper to corporations for a large sum of money — these are examples of unfair competition. The following have been classed under this head: an agent of a corporation manufacturing ice machines wrote a letter to a firm which had accepted the bid of a rival manufacturer, stating that the latter was a "second-hand dealer"; that it did inferior work; that it used inferior material; that it ran a "scab establishment" and did not have a "mechanic" in the whole establishment, "including the head of the concern." A milk dealer wrote to a shipper advising him to "look out" for a certain rival dealer, "unless you have surety for your goods, as he does not pay his shippers anything." These cases were held by the court to be actionable; that is, cases in which damages might properly be given.

Perhaps the most numerous cases of unfair competition have been those in which one dealer attempts to palm off his goods as those of another. This, indeed, is the practice to which the term "unfair competition" has been especially applied in this country, while English courts call it "passing off." Minnesota flour, for example, gained a reputation. Certain Chicago grocers tried to use this name for flour not made in Minnesota, and were forbidden

to do so. W. H. Baker advertised "Baker's Cocoa," and this was held to be unfair competition with the older firm, Walter Baker. "Waltham" must not be used by the Columbia Watch Company to deceive customers, even though the watches are actually made in the town of Waltham. The name "Webster's Dictionaries" must not be used in a way to mislead customers.

Patented articles seem to be a source of much trouble. The owner of the patent on an article may find that some one is selling an article that appears to be an infringement upon his patent. In such a case the owner has a right to sue the infringer; he has also a right to give notice to any one using the infringing article that he will sue to recover damages. But some owners of patents have gone further; they have threatened the users of articles with suits, when they had in reality no intention of bringing suits, but were merely trying to make the users afraid to buy of their competitors. No one likes to take the risk of being sued for damages, and hence this method of intimidation is often effective. As the court says of such a case: "If such a campaign be skillfully conducted for a series of years, as seems to have been the case here, the competitor is helpless. His orders are countermanded, old customers desert him through fear of litigation, or demand bond of indemnity as a condition for placing orders. His business is melting away."

We come now to cases in which the unfairness does not come from the use of fraud or threats but from the use of the great power of combination. This power may be used by an association or by a great trust. It has not always been accepted that what may be fair for one man or firm to do alone may not be fair for a combination of men to do.

Notice first the method by which an association may try to gain some advantage by agreeing to cut off competitors from getting supplies or markets. Retailers do not like mail-order houses. They cannot prevent people from buying from such houses, but they have tried to prevent the mail-order houses from getting supplies with which to fill orders. They formed associations and agreed not to buy from wholesalers and jobbers who sold to mail-order houses. This was held by a court to be not unlawful. But, on the other hand, a plumbers' association which refused to sell supplies to a

plumber because he was not a member of the association was ordered not to refuse to sell the plumber such supplies. Blacklisting or boycotting is another form of bringing combined pressure to bear. Several firms may form an association and adopt rules. They may agree to blacklist any one who breaks these rules. For example, retail lumber dealers wished to prevent wholesale dealers from selling directly to consumers. They formed an association and sent reports to the members in which they printed names of wholesalers who were soliciting trade or selling directly to consumers. Such dealers were to be treated as "unfair." The Supreme Court of the United States held that such blacklists were unlawful. Any one dealer might, if he pleased, refuse to trade with such a wholesaler, but

An act harmless when done by one may become a public wrong when done by many acting in concert, for it then takes on the form of a conspiracy; and may be prohibited or punished, if the result be hurtful to the public, or to the individual against whom the concerted action is directed.

The important thing for us to notice here is that the retail dealers thought it "unfair" for the wholesalers to take away their trade by selling at retail to the consumers. But the court held that for the retailers to combine and blacklist a wholesaler was going too far in the other direction. Closely allied to blacklisting and boycotting is the attempt sometimes made to prevent a rival from borrowing money at a bank.

Great combinations of capital in the form of trusts have likewise used their power in ways which the courts now condemn as unfair. We have already referred to the practice of charging lower prices in one locality in order to drive out competitors, and at the same time keeping up high rates in other localities. The practice of cutting prices on some one article, called a "fighting brand," is similar in principle. A more conspicuous use of power has been that of securing special rates or rebates from railroads. When the same group of owners control both a railroad and coal or iron mines, they can charge their competitors high freight rates. When a trust does not directly own a railroad, it may secure such special rates or rebates as to crush rivals. The conspicuous unfairness in this lies in the fact that a railroad is in an important sense a public affair. It has

been granted special rights by the public and so ought to treat all shippers alike — unless in such matters as giving a lower rate for a full carload.

Various other devices too numerous to mention in detail have at one time or another been employed in competition. Nearly all cases of unfair competition come under the general heads of deception, or of intimidation, or of the use of the great power of a trust or combination to crush by rebates, local price cutting, "fighting brands," blacklisting, or boycotting. Of all these practices we are coming to think that they do not promote progress, but hinder it. They do not bring out efficiency, but choke it.

. . . Does competition when fair always make for efficiency, or is coöperation in certain kinds of industry a better method? We have already seen that there are certain cases where competition is intolerable. Street railways, gas companies, electric-light companies, cannot be allowed to compete in a single city. The only method here is to allow one company the right of operating and then to regulate its prices by law — unless the city itself operates the street railways or lighting plant. With railroad and telephone companies, the case is similar. It may seem plausible that if a railroad between two cities is charging too high a price, the best method to reduce prices is to build a competing road. But if there is really business enough for but one road, it is evident that some one will lose if a second is built. Experience has shown over and over that the public in the long run has to pay higher, on account of the second road. Sometimes one road has bought out the other, sometimes there is a kind of truce reached between the two by which both keep going. But in some form or other the public pays a higher price for the service or else the railroad owners undergo serious loss. To try competition as a remedy for too high prices in such cases is as stupid as to sink ships in the sea in order to promote shipbuilding, or to burn buildings in order to provide work for carpenters. It does provide work for some undoubtedly, but it is a wasteful method. Coöperation is undoubtedly better than competition in certain cases, for it may eliminate many wastes. The war has shown the need of coördinating our railroads. Competition has proved inefficient.

Fruit growers in the western part of the United States have practiced coöperation to great advantage. By packing their fruit and marketing it under a coöperative plan they save expense and protect the reputation of their brand. In England, as already stated, the trade unions manage great coöperative stores and secure their goods much cheaper. In the matter of wages, trade unions are coöperative. An individual workman might often gain better wages by competing against other workmen. But experience shows that this is often only a temporary advantage. There is no doubt that, in improvement of hours of labor, conditions of work, protection from dangerous machinery, workingmen have gained more by coöperating with each other than they could have gained by competing against each other.

In conclusion, then, it appears that fair competition which seeks to devise better methods, which aims at cheaper production, not through cutting wages but through invention and improvement, is a social gain. Unfair competition which seeks to win by fouling the competitor is a social loss as well as a mean practice. Finally, even fair competition in certain kinds of business is a wasteful method in comparison with coöperation.

QUESTIONS

1. What do we mean by "equality of opportunity"?
2. Is competition beneficial?
3. How does competition affect the moral character of a man?
4. Has competition outlived its usefulness?
5. What are the different kinds of unfair competition?
6. Give instances of unfair competition.
7. In what kinds of business is coöperation more efficient than fair competition?

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

THE AVOIDANCE OF SECTIONALISM

124. SECTIONS AND NATION¹

We in America are in reality a federation of sections rather than of states. State sovereignty was never influential except as a constitutional shield for the section. In political matters the states act in groups rather than as individual members of the Union. They act in sections and are responsive to the respective interests and ideals of these sections. They have their sectional leaders, who in Congress and in party conventions voice the attitude of the section and confer and compromise their differences, or form sectional combinations to achieve a national policy and position. Party policy and Congressional legislation emerge from a process of sectional contests and sectional bargainings. Legislation is almost never the result of purely national or purely sectional considerations. It is the result of sectional adjustments to meet national needs. For the most part such adjustments take place in the formative stages of bills, in the committee rooms, and in the process of framing the measures by amendments. It is in these stages that the bill is most easily affected by sectional interests. The vote on the third reading of the bill affords opportunity for dissent; but after the completion of the measure, party discipline and party loyalty assert themselves and, in spite of discontent, usually furnish the necessary votes to pass the measure.

Even final votes in the Congress of the United States, both in the Senate and the House, upon important matters are, as President Lowell has demonstrated, far less frequently by parties than is ordinarily supposed. But if we proceed a step further and, instead of taking account of Congressional majorities by totals and reckoning the votes by party affiliation, we arrange those votes by sections and place the result on a map of the United States, we shall be astonished at how much is concealed by the mere alphabetical or

¹ From Frederick J. Turner, "Sections and Nation," in *The Yale Review*, New Series (edited by Wilbur L. Cross), Vol. 12, No. 1, pages 6-9, 10-13 (October, 1922). Reprinted by special permission of the author and the editor.

party record. Under the drawing pen, as vote after vote by Congressional districts is recorded on the map, they gradually arrange themselves to show the outlines of contending sections. The areas of great geographic provinces are revealed by the map of votes.

Of course, in the maps it will often be shown that some single party dominates a whole section, as so often occurs in the case of New England or the South. But again and again in the construction of bills and in elections, party ties are broken, and the Republicans, for example, divide into sectional wings, composed of a conservative New England and Middle State area, a divided and mediating Old Northwest (lying between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River), and a radical trans-Mississippi Middle West, voting in exact opposition to the Northeast and sometimes in alliance with the Democratic South.

From colonial days to the Civil War, the conscious and avowed policies of the leading statesmen rested on the necessity of considering the conflicting interests of the various sections and sectional wings and adjusting them by bargains, compromises, and arrangements for balance of power in Congressional legislation. It is, however, impossible here even to sketch the evidences of the persistent sectionalism in party contests and Congressional legislation in American history. The more the reader will probe into the distribution of votes and the utterances of statesmen and editors, the more he will see that sectionalism was the dominant influence in shaping our political history upon all important measures — not the sectionalism of North and South alone, but a much more complex thing, a sectionalism also of East and West, and of East North-Central and West North-Central States, shifting as economic and social conditions change, but persistently different from the East.

Since the Civil War, although by the march of settlement to the West new sections have been added, all the important political contests have revealed the same interplay of section with section. The sectional wings of the Republican party in the 'seventies exhibited a New England ultra-conservative; a Middle Atlantic transitional and divided; a North-Central for free silver. In the later 'eighties the East North-Central division divided and finally joined the North Atlantic States against free silver, but swung to the side of the

West North-Central group on the question of terminating the Silver Purchase Act. It was a mediating section with a balance of power, but responsive to party discipline. Problems of trust regulation, free silver, banking, tariff, and devices to secure popular government have led to sectional contests. Roosevelt's "square deal" held the Eastern and Western wings of the Republicans together for a time, but when President Taft after hesitation turned to the conservative Eastern wing, insurgency followed, and the Middle West became, in his words, "enemy country." The Western program of primary elections, popular election of the United States Senators, initiative, referendum, recall — all the devices for direct popular participation in government — resulted in a party rebellion which broke the power of the Speakership and overthrew the rule of the elder statesmen in the Senate. All these are familiar examples of the new forces. They found their strength in the Middle West and Pacific Coast, and finally made a split in the Republican party, resulting in the formation of the Progressives under Roosevelt. It is idle to think of these events in terms of rival leaders like La Follette, Cummins, Roosevelt, and Aldrich, or Bryan, Cleveland, Hill, and Parker. Such leaders really led and some of them deeply influenced the strategy and tactics of the fighting; but their power to lead was based upon the rival sectional interests. It was not a "fight of the captains." It cannot be explained in terms of personality alone, nor even primarily.

Although political sectionalism is still a term of reproach, implying unfairness and a disregard of national interests, the section reproved is seldom conscious that its action is adverse to the common good. We are so large and diversified a nation that it is almost impossible to see the situation except through sectional spectacles. The section either conceives of itself as an aggrieved and oppressed minority, suffering from the injustice of the other sections of the nation, or it thinks of its own culture, its economic policies and well-being, as best for all the nation. It thinks, in other words, of the nation in terms of itself. "I love thy rocks and rills, thy woods and templed hills," runs our American anthem. It was written by a New Englander and its scene is that of New England, not of the

snow-capped mountains, the far stretches of Great Plains, or Arid America. We think sectionally and do not fully understand one another.

Underneath the party sectionalism there is, of course, a sectionalism of material interests — of business, manufacturing, mining, agriculture, transportation. To illustrate this economic sectionalism, I may point out that of the capital invested in manufactures in the United States, nearly one-half is in the North Atlantic division, composed of New England and the Middle States; while on the other hand, the great bulk of the wheat and corn, cattle and swine, the food supply for labor and the great cities, comes from the North-Central States of the upper Mississippi valley. Over half the Federal income and profits tax in 1920 was paid by the North-Atlantic section of the United States, which has less than one-third the population of the Union, though the appropriation of these revenues was made for the nation considered as a unit. Obviously these differences between sections in economic interests mean also differences in political interests.

Significant facts appear in the relations between sectional material interests and sectional forms of society. The group of states which has the highest ratio of automobiles to population is the region of the great wheat states west of the Mississippi, the area of the Republican wing of the "Farmers' Bloc." This indicates that there is in that section a more general diffusion of prosperity. The sections which have the lowest ratio are the South and the Middle States of the Atlantic seaboard, the regions respectively of the negro and of the great industries. The American conscription statistics in the World War show that the regions which had the best record for physical fitness were those of the West North-Central and the Mountain sections, while the lowest is again the industrial Northeast. On the other hand, a map of the reading habit as shown by the number of books in circulation proportioned to population, reveals that the old Federalist section — New England, New York, and New Jersey — has a distinct preëminence. The statistics in the American "Who's Who" for 1916-17 show that over half of those who achieved the necessary distinction to be included in that volume lived in the Northeastern section of the United States and

that nearly the same number were born there. In other words, while preëminence in physical fitness and the more even distribution of wealth belong to the agricultural West, more men of talent and a larger concentration of great wealth are to be found in the North-east. Recent inquiries show that there is a sectionalism of "wet" and "dry" areas in public opinion on the Volstead Act. The most emphatic support of prohibition comes from the West North-Central and the South-Central states, the area of the Farmers' Bloc.

There is a sectionalism of culture. School-teachers, historians, scientists, and church associations meet increasingly in sectional gatherings. This is in part due to the high railroad fares; but it is also due to a real consciousness of sectional solidarity. We are all aware that Kansas is not New York; nor South Carolina, New Hampshire. We have in mind a certain quality when we speak of the South, or New England, or the Pacific Coast, or the Middle West — there is in each a special flavor, social, psychological, literary, even religious.

Popular speech likewise reveals our sectionalism, not only in matters of pronunciation, idioms, and so on, but also in the mental attitude that underlies the expressions. When we hear that "no man in the wrong can stand up against the fellow that's in the right and keeps on a-comin'," we know that we aren't in New England in spite of the moral flavor, and we suspect that we may be in Texas. When told that "high-class swine are unknown and impossible among a low-class people," that the hog of a certain state "in his sphere typifies the good, the true, and the beautiful . . . like the state that lends him as a solace to humanity," or that still another state produces the "most perfect cow that ever was by sea or land," we have little difficulty in getting our sectional bearings. It is not necessary to examine the agricultural atlas, for we recognize a Middle-Western spiritual as well as material attitude. When we read, "We don't have to pray for rain out here, we open the irrigation ditch and stop worrying about Providence; we don't have to ask for health, we got it when we bought our railroad ticket," it is not alone the reference to the irrigation ditch that carries our thought to the exhilarating high altitudes of the Far West, the land of optimism, determination, and exaggeration. One doesn't weigh words,

or cultivate restraint and the niceties, when nature is big and rough and lavish.

No one can make a sectional list of the men and women who have achieved distinction in literature, and fail to see that, whether in prose or poetry, fiction or essay, there is a special sectional quality in each, a reflection of the region's common interests and soul. Our American literature is not a single thing. It is a choral song of many sections.

QUESTIONS

1. Show that sectional interests dominate political life.
2. Show how the settlement of the West inevitably gave rise to an East-West sectionalism.
3. Explain economic sectionalism.
4. Show how sectionalism of culture exists.
5. Show how popular speech reveals sectionalism.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

PROMOTION OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND PEACE

125. THE CHURCHES AND THE CLERGY ¹

In examining the National government and the State governments, we have never once had occasion to advert to any ecclesiastical body or question, because with such matters government has in the United States absolutely nothing to do. . . .

The Federal Constitution contains the following prohibitions:

ARTICLE VI. No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

AMENDMENT I. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

No attempt has ever been made to alter or infringe upon these provisions. . . . Every state constitution contains provisions generally similar to the above. . . . Thirty-three constitutions, including those of the six most recently admitted states, forbid any religious test to be required as a qualification for office; some declare that this principle extends to all civil rights; some specify that religious belief is not to affect a man's competence as a witness. But in several states there still exist qualifications worth noting. Vermont and Delaware declare that every sect ought to observe the Lord's Day.. Six Southern states exclude from office any one who denies the existence of a Supreme Being. Besides these six, Pennsylvania and Tennessee pronounce a man ineligible for office who does not believe in God and in a future state of rewards and punishments. Maryland and Arkansas even make such a person incompetent as a juror or witness. Religious freedom has been thought of in America in the form of freedom and equality as between different sorts of Christians, or at any rate different sorts of theists; persons disclaiming any kind of religion have recently been extremely few everywhere and practically unknown in the

¹ From James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol II, Chapter 110. The Macmillan Company, New York; 1920. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

South. The neutrality of the State cannot therefore be said to be theoretically complete. . . .

The only controversies that have arisen regarding State action in religious matters have turned upon the appropriation of public funds to charitable institutions managed by some particular denomination. Such appropriations are expressly prohibited in the constitutions of some States. But it may happen that the readiest way of promoting some benevolent public purpose is to make a grant of money to an institution already at work, and successfully serving that purpose. As this reason may sometimes be truly given, so it is also sometimes advanced where the real motive is to purchase the political support of the denomination to which the institution belongs, or at least of its clergy. . . .

The refusal of the civil power to protect or endow any form of religion is commonly represented in Europe as equivalent to a declaration of contemptuous indifference on the part of the State to the spiritual interests of its people. A State recognizing no Church is called a godless State; the disestablishment of a Church is described as an act of national impiety. Nothing can be farther from the American view, to an explanation of which it may be well to devote a few lines.

The abstention of the State from interference in matters of faith and worship may be advocated on two principles, which may be called the political and the religious. The former sets out from the principles of liberty and equality. It holds any attempt at compulsion by the civil power to be an infringement on liberty of thought, as well as on liberty of action, which could be justified only when a practice claiming to be religious is so obviously anti-social or immoral as to threaten the well-being of the community. . . .

The second principle, embodying the more purely religious view of the question, starts from the conception of the Church as a spiritual body existing for spiritual purposes, and moving along spiritual paths. It is an assemblage of men who are united by their devotion to an unseen Being, their memory of a past divine life, their belief in the possibility of imitating that life, so far as human frailty allows, their hopes for an illimitable future. Compulsion of any

kind is contrary to the nature of such a body, which lives by love and reverence and not by law. . . .

Of these two views it is the former much more than the latter that has moved the American mind. . . . The matter may be summed up by saying that Christianity is in fact understood to be, though not the legally established religion, yet the national religion. So far from thinking their commonwealth godless, the Americans conceive that the religious character of a government consists in nothing but the religious belief of the individual citizens, and the conformity of their conduct to that belief. . . . The legal position of a Christian Church is in the United States simply that of a voluntary association, or group of associations, corporate or unincorporate, under the ordinary law. . . . As a rule, every religious body can organize itself in any way it pleases. . . .

I pass on to say a few words as to the religious bodies of the country.

In 1906 an attempt was made to obtain from each of these bodies full statistics regarding its numbers and the value of its property. The results, which I take from the bulletins and abstracts of that census, were, as respects the denominations whose membership exceeds 500,000 persons, as follows :

Roman Catholics	10,879,930 ¹
Methodists (17 bodies)	6,551,891
Baptists (16 bodies)	5,241,841
Lutherans (23 bodies)	1,957,433
Presbyterians (12 bodies)	1,771,787
Disciples of Christ	1,264,758
Protestant Episcopalians	837,073
Congregationalists	694,923

Besides these eight bodies, the Jews are returned as having 143,000 members (only heads of families, however, being reckoned), the Friends 118,753, the Spiritualists 295,000, and eight communistic societies (including the so-called Shakers) only 3084. The total number of persons returned as communicants or members of all the churches is 32,936,445. . . .

Of late years proposals for union between some of the leading

¹ All baptized Roman Catholics over nine years of age are treated as members.

Protestant churches, and especially between the Presbyterians and Congregationalists and Lutherans, have been freely canvassed. They witness to a growing good feeling among the clergy, and growing indifference to minor points of doctrine and church government. The vested interests of the existing clergy create some difficulties serious in small towns and country districts; but it seems possible that before many years more than one such union will be carried through.

The social standing of the clergy of each church corresponds pretty closely to the character of the church itself — that is to say, the pastors of the Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Episcopalian, and Unitarian bodies come generally, at least in the Northern States, from a slightly higher social stratum than those of other more numerous denominations.

I. To estimate the influence and authority of religion is not easy. Suppose, however, that we take either the habit of attending church or the sale of religious books as evidences of its influence among the multitude: suppose that as regards the more cultivated classes we look at the amount of respect paid to Christian precepts and ministers, the interest taken in theological questions, the connection of philanthropic reforms with religion. Adding these various data together, we may get some sort of notion of the influence of religion on the American people as a whole. . . . So far from suffering from the want of state support, religion seems in the United States to stand all the firmer because, standing alone, she is seen to stand by her own strength. No political party, no class in the community, has any hostility either to Christianity or to any particular Christian body. The churches are as thoroughly popular, in the best sense of the word, as any of the institutions of the country.

II. The social and economic position of the clergy in the United States is perhaps slightly above that of the priesthood, taken as a whole, in Roman Catholic countries, and equal to that of all denominations taken together; Anglicans and Nonconformists in England. . . . The education of the American ministers, their manners, their capacity for spreading light among the people, seem

superior to those of the seminarist priesthood of France and Italy (who are of course far more of a distinct caste) and equal to those of the Protestant pastors of Germany and Scotland.

III. Social jealousies connected with religion scarcely exist in America, and one notes a kindlier feeling between all denominations, Roman Catholics included, a greater readiness to work together for common charitable aims, than between Catholics and Protestants in France or Germany, or between Anglicans and Nonconformists in England. . . .

IV. To give an opinion on the three foregoing questions is incomparably easier than to say whether and how much Christianity has gained in spiritual purity and dignity by her severance from the secular power.

There is a spiritual gain in that diminution of envy, malice, and uncharitableness between the clergy of various sects which has resulted from their being all on the same legal level; and the absence both of these faults and of the habit of bringing ecclesiastical questions into secular politics gives the enemy less occasion to blaspheme than he is apt to have in Europe. . . .

So far as I could ascertain, the dependence of the minister for support on his congregation does not lower him in their eyes, nor make him more apt to flatter the leading members than he is in established churches. If he is personally dignified and unselfish, his independence will be in no danger. But whether the voluntary system, which no doubt makes men more liberal in giving for the support of religious ordinances among themselves and of missions elsewhere, tends to quicken spiritual life, and to keep the church pure and undefiled, free from corrupting influences of the world, is another matter, on which a stranger may well hesitate to speak. Those Americans whose opinions I have inquired generally hold that in this respect also the fruits of freedom have been good. . . .

America is no doubt the country in which intellectual movements work most swiftly upon the masses, and the country in which the loss of faith in the invisible might produce the completest revolution, because it is the country where men have been least wont to revolve anything in the visible world. Yet America seems as unlikely to drift from her ancient moorings as any country of the Old World.

It was religious zeal and the religious conscience which led to the founding of the New England colonies nearly three centuries ago — those colonies whose spirit has in such a large measure passed into the whole nation. Religion and conscience have been constantly active forces in the American commonwealth ever since — not, indeed, strong enough to avert many moral and political evils, yet at the worst times inspiring a minority with a courage and ardor by which moral and political evils have been held at bay, and in the long run generally overcome.

It is an old saying that monarchies live by honor and republics by virtue. The more democratic republics become, the more the masses grow conscious of their own power, the more do they need to live, not only by patriotism, but by reverence and self-control, and the more essential to their well-being are those sources whence reverence and self-control flow.

126. CHURCH WAR OR CHURCH UNITY ¹

Competition is not the life of trade in religion. The surveys in Ohio show that the county which has the largest number of churches has also the largest amount of illegitimacy and delinquency. This looks like a complete demonstration of the failure of the Christian religion until one learns that this county with the largest number of churches has very few resident ministers. The churches multiplied until each little congregation must endure "part-time" preaching once or twice a month, the minister being usually a man engaged in secular work who rides fifty miles every Sunday to a different point for the little stipend attached. In such communities, of which there are hundreds in the United States, competition has brought the Church near to death. Denominationalism has been reduced to its logical conclusion, and its folly fully demonstrated.

Thousands of villages and small towns have struggled along for years with an incubus of churches, religion being in inverse ratio to the number of churches. At a crossroads in northwestern Illinois called Coleta stand three church houses where three little groups

¹ From Orvis F. Jordan, "Church War or Church Unity," in *The Outlook*, Vol. 133, pages 843-844 (May 9, 1923). Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

keep up a generation-old feud over doctrinal matters. Sometimes the church divisions are over matters rather incomprehensible to the lay mind. A tourist going through a village that had two Lutheran churches asked the difference between them. The puzzled native tried to explain it this way: "My church teaches that Adam fell, but the other church says that he was a son-of-a-gun from the beginning." At Owensboro, Kentucky, are several Baptist churches, one of which is known as the "whisky Baptist" church because some prominent distillers were excluded from the other leading church of this faith.

Long before the war the protest against denominational competition began. The organization of union churches went on in various parts of the country. Many of these are still alive. At Lindennwood, Illinois, is a union church with more than fifty years of honorable history. Beverly Hills Union Church, in a suburb of Chicago, has been going for thirty years, and now supports several missionaries.

The older union church fell into several errors. Its dominant interest was still doctrinal rather than vital. Because these institutions represented compromises they often had no big convictions, and without a conviction of some sort no social institution survives. The denominational secretaries were also preying upon these continually. All over the country one may find buildings, erected by the sacrifice of a local community, which are now deeded to a Methodist conference, forestalling further change in the religious choice of the community, or connected with some other denominational organization. The union churches had no seminaries, produced no ministry native to the movement, if indeed they could be called a movement. They held no conventions and had no fellowship. When a pulpit was empty, the denominational organization promised a steady supply of ministers in return for subservience to a denomination.

But the war came along and changed many things. So simple a thing as a failure in the fuel supply has resulted in scores of church unions all over the country, perhaps hundreds of them. To conserve coal, congregations that had not worshiped together in years found ways and means to do it. In New England, Unitarians

worshiped with the "Orthodox," and one could find the Episcopalians setting up coöperation with those who had no "historic ministry."

This was not all that the war did. The Nation insisted upon community drives for the Red Cross. The Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, and the corresponding Jewish society were budgeted together in a Nation-wide drive near the time of the Armistice. The people liked it. Some communities established war chests and met promptly out of the common fund all calls from the various organizations. Chaplains of all denominations came back from the war delivered in their souls from the provincialism of sect. Had there been community churches already organized as going concerns, most of these men would have chosen the wider ministry in which they had been engaged in the army. They constitute today a great liberalizing force in all the denominations.

Like magic the community church movement has grown out of these conditions. With no secretary to promote it, without propaganda of any sort, it has marched across the Nation. No one knows how many churches there are, for it has been nobody's business to find out. Two journals are already in the field, undertaking to interpret the movement. The Rev. David R. Piper, editor of the *Community Churchman*, has made some preliminary survey of the movement and reports eight hundred churches of three types — denominational community, federated, and union or independent. In the first type the usual denominational requirements for membership have been made easy enough to admit all Christians of the community, and the church has adopted a social program. The Congregational church of Winnetka, Illinois, is of this type. In the federated church two or three denominations come together in a federated arrangement, as in the Federated Churches of Wyoming, New York. The larger number are independent congregations with many denominations in the membership. The community church of Park Ridge, Illinois, has seventeen denominations, ranging all the way from Roman Catholics to Friends.

California has 46 union churches, Iowa 44, and Massachusetts 40. If there is any generalization to be made, one would say that the South has not yet accepted the idea very largely. Mississippi and

Georgia have none of these churches so far as now known, while Louisiana and Alabama have two each.

The distinguishing marks of these churches over the land is liberality with reference to religious opinion, a concern for religious efficiency in the local community, and interest in a social program. Most of the churches may fairly be called "evangelical," but few of them have any creed other than some statement of loyalty to Jesus Christ. The social program is the thing. At Atascadero, California, nearly all the town activities head up in the church, including Y. M. C. A. activities and the town library. Winnetka, Illinois, has no moving-picture theater, the church meeting this need in a community of more than five thousand people.

Denominational editors, bishops, and secretaries are in many instances bitterly opposed to the movement, as well they may be. After trying to gobble up a group of independent churches that grows larger every week, they now adopt a hostile and critical note in the public utterances. The movement is itself doubtful as to where a natural evolution leads. Dr. William Anthony, secretary of the Home Missions Council, advises these churches to become loosely attached to a denomination. This means death to all those community churches which do not have a majority of their members in any one denomination. In most cases the evolution leads into more independency rather than otherwise.

But too much independency means parochialism, narrowed vision, and stagnation. Unless a church is connected up with the big catholic movements of the time, it will lose its spiritual power. Wise community church leaders are now trying to make up a list of the big union movements in home missions, foreign missions, education, and reform to which they may subscribe without giving aid and comfort to the denominational principle. Fortunately, a large list of such enterprises may be made.

What is the goal of the movement? No one may speak surely of this, but the development in Canada seems to point the way. While the leaders of the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational churches negotiated for years timidly, the people in local fields cursed with sectarian rivalry took matters in their own hands.

Community churches sprang up all over the northwest. The denominational leaders faced the certain disintegration of their organizations if they any longer withstood the will of the people. The result is the almost certain coming of church union in Canada, with Baptists, Disciples, and Episcopalians left out, to be sure.

Is a similar movement at work in America? Even in denominational churches one cannot find any more a majority of people who have spent all their lives within a single denomination. People move rapidly these days in answer to economic necessity. They must have a church home. They have learned to accommodate themselves easily to a new denominational church. Under such conditions denominational differences become a joke which even preachers laugh at outside the pulpit. It may be that the community-church movement is the halfway house on the road to a practical church unity.

127. STEPS NECESSARY FOR RECONCILIATION¹

In the first place, *men must be taught to repudiate force and selfishness as bases for human relations*. As long as self-interest is supposed to be a proper basis for human conduct and for human relations, we shall have force used to maintain those relations, and with the use of force, the pagan philosophy that "might makes right." There is, therefore, no other way out than to repudiate entirely force and selfishness as bases for social organization. None of us believe that right relations in the family can be based upon them. Why should we believe that they can form a basis for right relations in society at large? . . . *The principles of social organization are not of one sort for small groups and of another sort for large groups*. . . .

In the second place, *mutual forgiveness must be preached and practiced*. Our world is a world of wrongs . . . the truth is that in the large we have all wronged one another and that we continue to do so. We all have need, therefore, of mutual forgiveness. . . . Forgiveness is not a sign of weakness in social relations; it is rather

¹ From Charles A. Ellwood, *Christianity and Social Science*, pages 147-151. The Macmillan Company, New York; 1923. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

a sign of the strength of the social spirit. . . . Forgiveness for wrongs, instead of conducing to further wrongdoing, has been shown in all human experience to be necessary for the reëtrance upon a life of righteousness. Hence mutual repentance and mutual forgiveness should be preached and taught without ceasing in our world.

In the third place, *men should be taught to identify themselves in thought and feeling with their fellow men.* We are all, as we have seen, even according to science, members one of another. . . . *When we learn to identify ourselves with all of our fellows, even with the lowest and meanest, we have entered fully into that larger life which is at once true education and true religion.* . . .

Put in other and perhaps plainer terms, this perception of our moral identity with our fellow men means that *we should recognize them always as ends just as we always recognize ourselves as ends.* It means, in other words, the primacy of human values in all of our thinking. Then, we will no longer think of men as "hands," as machines, as impersonal units, or as mere means of any sort, but always as persons who are entitled to the same sort of treatment as we expect and demand ourselves. This perception of our moral identity with our fellow men makes their wrongs and sufferings our own. It at once gives free play to our sympathy, our passions, and our lives, and ends all separateness, isolation, and hostility. To quote again Professor Cooley :

When we are most fully alive to the life about us, the sympathetic becomes the rational; what is good for you is good for me because I share your life; and I need no urging to do by you as I would have you do by me. Justice and kindness are matters of course. . . .

In the fourth place, *men must be taught to share their goods, both material and spiritual, with their fellow men.* This is the last and greatest test of our social attitude. We have already pointed out that our civilization is still largely dominated by the possessive attitude, which keeps men from becoming reconciled to one another because it is a direct contradiction of the attitude of service or of love. As has been well said, "the desire to possess is in direct conflict with the desire to share. Keeping possession of that which another needs is a direct contradiction of love." Now, if we really

perceive and feel our identity with our fellow men, we will desire to share with them the things which enriched our own life. This is a plain corollary of the contributive attitude toward life and, as I have just said, is the practical test of the socialization of character.

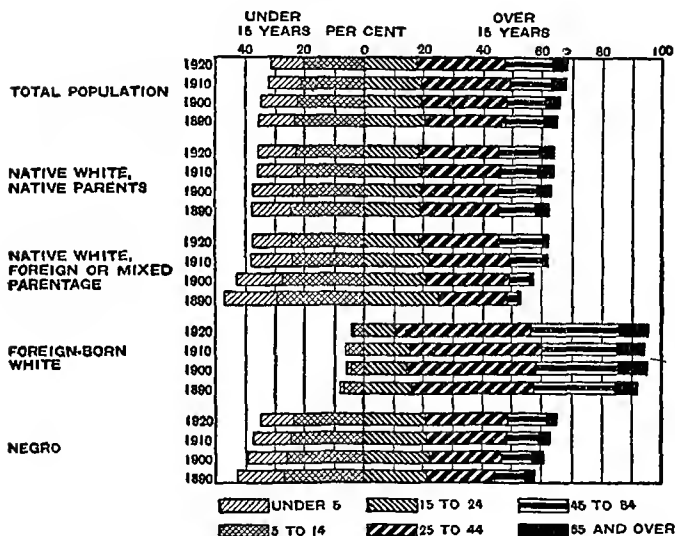
QUESTIONS

1. What religious guarantees are provided by the Federal Constitution?
2. Upon what two principles is the abstention of the State from interference in matters of faith and worship advocated?
3. Enumerate the religious bodies in the United States.
4. Discuss (a) the influence of religion in America, (b) the social and economic position of the American clergy, (c) how much Christianity has gained in spiritual purity and dignity by her severance from the secular power.
5. Explain what is meant by saying that in villages and small towns "religion is in inverse ratio to the number of churches."
6. How did the war influence the community-church movement?
7. What is the goal of the community-church movement?
8. What are the steps necessary for reconciliation?

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

PROMOTION OF PEACE AMONG NATIONALITIES

128. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY AGE PERIODS: 1890-1920¹



This diagram shows how much more adult is the foreign-born element than the native elements of our population. This is one reason why the foreign born contribute more to factories, voting booths, jails, and poorhouses than one would be led to expect on comparing their number with that of the native born.

¹ From Census Monograph No. 1: *Increase of Population in the United States, 1910-20*, Chapter 13, page 140 Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.; 1922

129. THE NEW AMERICAN AND THE NEW PROBLEM¹

The miracle of assimilation wrought upon the older type of immigration gives to many of us at least the hope that the Slavs, Jews, Italians, Hungarians, and Greeks will blend into our life as easily as did the Germans, the Scandinavians, and the Irish.

The new immigrant — or the new American, as I call him — is, however, in many respects more of an alien than that older class which was related to the native stock by race, speech, or religious ties. Therefore I recognize the fact that it is easy to be too optimistic about this assimilation, and to regard the Americanizing of the stranger accomplished when he discards his picturesque native garb and speech, to disappear in the commonplaceness of our attire, or when he has mastered the intricacies of American idioms.

Outwardly the changes will be the same as those which have taken place among the older immigrants, accomplished with the same dispatch, even where the foreigners are segregated in their own quarters. I have in mind a Polish colony of some six thousand souls in a New England town where there are Polish churches, Polish schools, Polish "butchers, bakers, and candlestick makers"; and yet if you walk through that section of the city you will see the women who a few years ago, when they landed, wore the numberless short skirts and picturesque waists of their own making, now sweeping the dust with long trailing skirts, their ample forms encased in corsets and shirt waists, while here and there you will even hear the rustle of the silk lining.

The boys who upon landing wore coarse linen trousers and shirts have long ago rebelled against these marks of their Old Country lineage, and their fathers have bought them the short trousers and shirt waists which make them look like young Americans.

If you are careful to observe, you will see that the children wear stockings and underwear — luxuries undreamed of in the Old World, where boots and shoes were the signs of manhood or womanhood, and where stockings were unknown to the peasantry, being the marks of a high calling and fine breeding.

¹ From Edward A. Steiner, *On the Trail of the Immigrant*, pages 292-308. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York; 1906. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

Especially on Sunday that quarter of the town looks resplendent in its newness, and the latest American fashions are reflected by the women, who are never a season behind in expanding or reducing to proper proportions their sleeves, which they wear short or long, very nearly as the ladies do who at that moment have entered the portals of the great meetinghouse, the bulwark of American ideals in New England. It is true that they all still eat black bread, drink vodka, and say "Pshas creff" when angry; but in eating, drinking, and swearing the whole colony is on the way to complete Americanization, and one need have no fear that externally the Slav, Italian, and Jew will not "eat of the fruit of the tree of the garden and become like one of us."

The same thing is a fact in the matter of external racial characteristics. The things which seem to us the most ineradicable and written as if by an "iron pen upon the rock" are in most cases but chalk marks on a blackboard, so easily are they washed away.

These things created by long ages of neglect, hunger, persecution, and climate are often lost within one generation. The crowd on Rivington Street in New York looks less Jewish than that in Warsaw, and the Bohemians in Chicago look so like "us," that in spite of the fact that I have some training in detecting racial marks, I am often puzzled and mistaken.

Give me the immigrant on board of ship, and I will distinguish without hesitation the Bulgarian from the Servian, the Slovak from the Russian, and the Northern Italian from the Sicilian; but, as I have said, I often have the greatest difficulty in accomplishing such a feat two or three years after the men have landed. It is true that in the first generation the old racial marks still lie in the foreground, and that even in the second generation the blood will speak out here and there; but it will require a very sharp scrutiny to detect this, and in most cases there will be no hint of the past.

In Chicago, Cedar Rapids, St. Louis, and St. Paul I have addressed audiences composed of Slavs and of native Americans; and I have vainly tried to distinguish them one from the other in the mass, although of course when I had a very close and long look I could make my differentiation. These racial marks are most tenacious among certain Orientals where strange strains of blood

have accentuated the difference; but I have seen some Armenians, people bearing the mark of their race most strongly, who after ten years of life in America had lost the peculiar sharpness of their features and were in that stage of transition where the American image was being imprinted upon them.

Scarcely a foreigner returns home after a long sojourn in America without hearing at every step that he looks different. The Jew on board ship, to whom I have previously referred, who was warned not to wear an American flag because it might cost him money in Europe, was right when he said, "They will see it in mine face that I am from America."

130. AMERICANIZATION¹

The foreign-born population of this country must be an Americanized population — no other kind can fight the battles of America either in war or peace. It must talk the language of its native-born fellow-citizens; it must possess American citizenship and American ideals. It must stand firm by its oath of allegiance in word and deed and must show that in very fact it has renounced allegiance to every prince, potentate, or foreign government. It must be maintained on an American standard of living so as to prevent labor disturbances in important plants and at critical times. None of these objects can be secured as long as we have immigrant colonies, ghettos, and immigrant sections, and above all they cannot be assured as long as we consider the immigrant only as an industrial asset. The immigrant must not be allowed to drift or to be put at the mercy of the exploiter. Our object is not to imitate one of the older racial types, but to maintain a new American type and then to secure loyalty to this type. We cannot secure such loyalty unless we make this a country where men shall feel that they have justice and also where they shall feel that they are required to perform the duties imposed upon them. The policy of "Let alone" which we have hitherto pursued is thoroughly vicious from two standpoints. By this policy we have permitted the

¹ From Philip Davis, *Immigration and Americanization*, pages 657-659. Ginn & Co., Boston; 1920. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

immigrants, and too often the native-born laborers as well, to suffer injustice. Moreover, by this policy we have failed to impress upon the immigrant and upon the native-born as well that they are expected to do justice as well as to receive justice, that they are expected to be heartily and actively and single-mindedly loyal to the flag no less than to benefit by living under it.

We cannot afford to continue to use hundreds of thousands of immigrants merely as industrial assets while they remain social outcasts and menaces, any more than fifty years ago we could afford to keep the black man merely as an industrial asset and not as a human being. We cannot afford to build a big industrial plant and herd men and women about it without care for their welfare. We cannot afford to permit squalid overcrowding or the kind of living system which makes impossible the decencies and necessities of life. We cannot afford the low wage rates and the merely seasonal industries which mean the sacrifice of both individual and family life and morals to the industrial machinery. We cannot afford to leave American mines, munition plants, and general resources in the hands of alien workmen — alien to America and even likely to be hostile to America by machinations such as have recently been provided in the case of the two foreign embassies in Washington. We cannot afford to run the risk of having in time of war men working on our railways or working in our munition plants who would in the name of duty to their own foreign countries bring destruction to us.

131. THE GOAL OF AMERICANIZATION WORK¹

1. The most important thing the immigrant should get from the trained Americanization worker is the certainty that the worker stands for the best forces in America reaching out in a democratic way to help in his difficult problems of new-world adjustment. Too often the immigrant is the prey of all evil forces in America. This trained Americanizer should stand to him for all the good America has to offer.

¹ From Albert Ernest Jenks, "The Goal of Americanization Work," in *The Survey* (January 11, 1919). Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

2. The immigrant should feel the certainty that the worker understands him and his group; that he knows their strengths and their weaknesses; that he knows the political, industrial, and social conditions under which they lived in their home country, why they came to America, the conditions in which they find themselves in America; that he realizes their problems here, their causes of discontent, and what they need to fit themselves happily and successfully into the complex life of America.

3. The immigrant from any one of the sixty-odd nationalistic groups represented in America should get from the trained worker the special educational, industrial, political, or other direction which he racially needs to adjust himself to American life; the needs will vary with each group.

Among the Southern Italians the per cent of illiteracy is 54.2; among the Portuguese it is 68.2; among the Bohemians it is 1.7; and among the Finns, 1.4 per cent. To approach the adult Bohemians and Finns with the same educational program and methods as those with which one would approach the Southern Italians and Portuguese is to offend a just race pride.

The Scandinavian is a rugged, independent individualist. His individualism tends toward democracy, and toward pioneer, healthful, rural activities. The Italian is not an individualist. He sees life more as one swamped and lost in a human swarm. He seeks and finds companionship in America in the congestion of cities. To suppose that the industrial problems of the Scandinavian and the Italian are the same is to miss the significance of race difference.

4. The immigrant should get from the trained Americanization worker a realization of what America really means, of the ideals of her founders, of her traditions, of her standards, and of her institutions. He should get ideals of sane and democratic industrial adjustment, and of the best ways for him to help in this adjustment, from men having a high realization of American ideals, rather than bizarre and upsetting ideas from disturbing agitators.

5. The immigrant should get a genuine desire to become a citizen of the United States and to learn the language spoken in the United States. Forced naturalization and forced language study produce

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enemies and not loyal citizens. He should get the English language just so far as he is able. But it must be remembered that many immigrants are too old or too occupied with earning a living to learn English well enough to have it become the language in which they think, and that for some time wise use must be made in Americanization work of the foreign tongue and the foreign press.

6. The immigrant should get from the worker encouragement to put into America all the talents, crafts, and ideals for good that he brings with him, to develop them in harmony with the best ideals of America, and so make his contribution to enduring American culture. He should be led to prize the things which are his own and which make for good in America. On the other hand, he should get a realization that his practices and characteristics which are weaknesses in America should be done away with as quickly and completely as possible.

7. He should get such a sympathetic understanding of the other immigrant peoples in America that old-world prejudices will tend to die, and confidence be established in all groups so that they may have fair and square dealing with one another.

8. The immigrant should get from the worker the certain feeling that the worker stands in a real sense as an advocate of the immigrant against race discrimination and unjust treatment. It is true that as Americans our practices lag behind our democratic ideals, but a just and intelligent interpretation of America to the immigrant, and of the immigrant to the quick sense of fair play of the American, will do much to bring about a sense of justice and real democracy toward the foreigner which is the foundation of all true Americanization.

9. Finally, the immigrant should get as a result of the entire effort of the trained Americanization worker such a fundamental and sympathetic understanding of America and American people that he will naturally develop a love and loyalty for America, a desire to remain in America and to bear all the citizenship burdens of the nation, and, as a natural accompaniment of this, a desire to combat and stamp out anything that would in any way make for disloyalty to the country of his adoption.

132. JUSTICE FOR THE IMMIGRANT¹

The immigrant does not start the race fair with the American. We expect him to know the multitude of laws and ordinances and regulations in a strange country with the institutions and customs and organization of which he is unfamiliar. We expect the peasant to adjust himself immediately to a complicated city system. We expect him to learn to be law-abiding technically as well as intentionally, with the heavy handicap of not knowing English. All this notwithstanding, as a government we do nothing to instruct him or inform him, either when he lands or goes into our industries, as to his responsibilities or duties or obligations. We are content to leave this to the padrone, the immigrant banker, the notary public, the saloou, and to such associates as he may find or friendly welfare associations as he may chance upon. . . .

Justices of the peace and police justices. These influence the life of the immigrant most directly. The way in which the law treats his everyday frailties in such matters as drink, disorderly conduct, vagrancy, trespass, assault and battery, petit larceny, and his civil differences with his neighbor is the immigrant's measure of the effectiveness and fairness of regulation. The way in which it treats his complaints of wages unpaid, oppression, and regard for his personal rights and property is a guide to his future actions in relation to his fellows. . . .

In making the following statements of notable instances which came to my attention among others, I wish to make it clear that under the present system hundreds of justices are administering the law fearlessly and honestly and with due regard to the rights of all. At the same time, I wish to point out that the system is such that it depends upon the man elected and not upon the laws which govern his office and the manner of his election whether his office is an instrument of justice or a tool in the hands of those who wish to oppress, exploit, and intimidate the ignorant immigrant unfamiliar with American laws, institutions, and customs. . . .

In another case four men complained that they had been illegally

¹ From Frances A. Kellor, "Justice for the Immigrant," in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. LII, pages 159-168 (March, 1914). Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

arrested for petit larceny. Six immigrants left an employment agency in New York, September 22, to work on the construction of a dam for a large paper factory. Their fare of \$3 by boat and 75 cents for meals and the fee for the job were to be deducted from their first wages. They arrived about 10 A.M., September 23, and were to go to work on the morning of the 24th. They were told by the padrone that they could have no food until they paid for it. Two of them had money, but the four others did not. The four were given a piece of bread and some sausage, which was all the food they had from noon, September 22, until the morning of September 24, when they refused to work without breakfast and went away. The justice was employed as machinist by the company and the superintendent said he wanted to make an example of them for not working out their fare, and they were arrested and sentenced to thirty days in jail, but were promptly released on habeas corpus proceeding brought by the state bureau of industries and immigration.

The following letter from an alien in Pennsylvania is of interest :

In this country, and particularly in this borough, it has become the practice of justices of the peace and others who are aiding in the scheme to extort money in various ways from the foreign people. One of the principal things practiced is to bring them in before the justice of the peace on some criminal information, whether they have violated the law or not, and then demand large sums of money from them under the guise of a settlement, and then let them go, or in some instances hold them for court expecting they will still pay more money, and if so, then manage to get the case nol-prossed without a trial. Others who seem to live upon what they can extort by some means from these foreigners, have a practice of going to them and demanding money under threat that if they do not pay they will be taken to jail. It is very hard for any one located here to get a hold on the people who are practicing these things, for they are combined together and threaten the foreigners if they tell these things.

Naturalization. The admission to citizenship is the highest honor which this country can confer. No act should be so free from exploitation as this. The federal government has established a high standard of qualifications. But in addition to this a number of states have passed laws making the earning of a living dependent

upon naturalization or the obtainment of first papers. This immediately opens the door to graft, encourages dishonesty, and makes naturalization not a high privilege but a condition precedent to going to work. This results in wholesale evasion of the law, which is a part of the early education of the newly arrived alien, whose first introduction to America is as a protected lawbreaker. These laws apply primarily to employees on public works and to trades in which a license is required. In New York City, this restriction has led to wholesale frauds and exchanges in licenses and there are records showing that the little Greek boys who peddle flowers have been arrested as many as five times during their first few months in the country for peddling without a license. The padrone says it is cheaper to pay fines, as they cannot get licenses. The political leaders also turn this requirement to great advantage by assisting members of their clubs to obtain first papers and licenses, thereby controlling the voters. From among many cases this is of significance:

An alien had his first papers and wanted to get his final papers. A runner and shyster offered to get them for him. He turned over his first papers and paid \$5 to the lawyer and was told to deposit \$9 with a saloon keeper as a guarantee. He was taken four times to court, and the lawyer demanded his expenses paid. The alien had no money and was asked to sign a paper which he found was used afterwards to collect the \$9 deposited with the saloon keeper. Five dollars more was then demanded, and he signed a memorandum agreeing to pay the runner for his services as follows:

Lost time, May 8, 9, 10	\$ 6
One day lost, May 19	5
Spare time given to lawyers, May 28	4
Lost one day, June 11	5
Spare time given to lawyer, June 14	2
Spare time given to lawyer, June 18	2
	<u>\$24</u>

At the time the case came to my notice he had lost his first papers, paid \$14, lost several days' work, and had not obtained his papers. . . .

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The establishment of government agencies looking toward the assimilation of immigrants has been strenuously opposed as discriminating and as tending to increase immigration. The past decade has seen, however, a steady development of such agencies. One of the most important of these is the establishment by New York State of a bureau of industries and immigration, which creates in effect an immigrants' court. This has the power to make investigations, hold hearings, and make adjustments. This experiment has done more to reduce the law's delays, obtain justice and fair treatment for the immigrant and maintain his faith in American freedom and justice than any other one single experiment.

California has recently established a commission on immigration and housing with similar powers, and Cleveland has established the first municipal agency in the form of a city immigration bureau, which takes charge of all immigrants in need of information, advice, and assistance.

It is through such measures and agencies as these that the alien will finally receive the full measure of justice which should accompany his admission, and it is to these that we must look for a better knowledge and administration of our laws through the minor courts, which bear so important a relation to the immigrant.

133. SOURCES OF RACE PREJUDICE¹

There are many errors which lie back of our ideas of race superiority.

1. One is to assume the validity and supremacy of our own standards and to condemn to inferiority all nonconformity with those standards. As Finot says (in *Race Prejudice*, page 51):

The science of inequality is emphatically a science of white people. It is they who have invented it and set it going, who have maintained, cherished, and propagated it, thanks to their observations and their deductions. Deeming themselves greater than men of other colors, they have elevated into superior qualities all the traits which are peculiar to themselves, commencing with the whiteness of the skin and the pliancy of the hair. But nothing proves that these vaunted traits are traits of real superiority.

¹ From Robert E. Speer, *Race and Race Relations*, pages 78-91. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, 1924. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

"If the Chinese and the Egyptians had judged our ancestors as we too often judge foreign races," says Quatrefages, "they would have found in them many traits of inferiority such as this white skin in which we take so much pride, and which they might have regarded as showing an irremediable etiolation." This is what dogmatic anthropologists seem at all times to have forgotten. Human varieties have not been studied like those of animals and plants — that is to say, without conventional prejudices as to their respective values and as to those which are superior and inferior. Facts have often yielded to sentiments. We have been persuaded, with the help of our feelings, to accept our own preferences rather than impartial observations, and our own prejudices rather than scientific laws.

In pursuing this course the elementary commandments of experimental science are transgressed. The majority of the anthropologists, faithful in this respect to the scholastic teachings, have begun by assuming the inequality of human beings as an axiom. On this preliminary basis they have built an imposing edifice, but really one of fictitious solidity.

We regard with favor certain physical characteristics, — white skin, fair hair, blue eyes, a certain type of features, our own odors. Another race will naturally have entirely different tastes. It is a matter not of superiority or inferiority but of variety. "Some men say that colored people are 'ugly.' They should be reminded that beauty is very relative, and that our own idea of beauty is subject to changes in fashion." . . .

Having in mind the error of reading our prejudices into our racial judgments, we should do well to recollect the words of the Secretary of the Universal Races Congress in 1911: "We are under the necessity of concluding that an impartial investigator would be inclined to look upon the various important peoples of the world as, to all intents and purposes, essentially equals in intellect, enterprise, mortality, and physique. . . . We ought to combat the irreconcilable contentions prevalent among all the more important races of mankind that their customs, their civilizations, and their race are superior to those of other races." (*Universal Races Congress*, 1911; pages 35, 38.) . . .

Race prejudice in the mass of common people is the product of accumulated social education. As Professor Royce says:

Our so-called race problems are merely problems caused by our antipathies. Now the mental antipathies of men are very elemental, widespread, and momentous mental phenomena. But they are also in their fundamental

nature extremely capricious and extremely suggestible mental phenomena. Let the individual man alone, and he will feel antipathies for certain other human beings very much as any young child does — namely, quite capriciously — just as he will also feel all kinds of capricious likings for people. But train a man first to give names to his antipathies, and then to learn to regard the antipathies thus learned as sacred merely because they have a name, and then you get the phenomena of racial hatred, or class hatred, and so on indefinitely. Such trained hatreds are peculiarly pathetic and peculiarly deceitful, because they combine in such a subtle way the elemental vehemence of the hatred that a child may feel for a stranger, or a cat, or a dog, with the appearance of dignity and sobriety and sense of duty which a name gives. (Royce, *Race Prejudice and Other American Questions*, page 47.)

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2. A second error is the assumption that backwardness and inferiority are synonymous. "Backward," says Ratzel, "does not necessarily mean inferior." The conception of child races is a familiar conception. We have worked with it as a pretext in politics in relation to "subject peoples" and to the questions involved, — "of responsibility to weaker races, of the relations of the governing power to great systems of native jurisprudence and religion, which take us back to the very childhood of the world, and in which the first principle of successful policy is that we are dealing, as it were, with children."¹ But we have not accepted this conception in its full application to race relationships. It is time that we should do so. A so-called inferior race is simply a race which has not yet enjoyed the education and felt the influences that would lift it to the level of its potential happiness and serviceableness. And in this sense all races are still inferior.

3. A third error is the idea that the apparent inferiority of a race is due to its race-character and destiny and not, as is the fact, to its lack of motive and opportunity and inspiration, although this lack is an effect as well as a cause of race-character. And it is of equal importance that the race which needs these should receive them. In dealing with the question of African character and the problem of labor in South Africa, the South African Native Races Committee declared in its report in 1908:

¹ Kidd, *The Control of the Tropics*, pages 33 ff.

It is often said that the native is indolent and must be taught the "dignity of labor." Gradually, however, it is being recognized that the true character of the difficulty is to be found, not in any inherent defect in the character of the natives, but in the absence of a sufficient motive to engage in continuous work. Uneducated natives can satisfy their primitive needs with little exertion; and if they are content with their present earnings, the difficulty of obtaining labor is not likely to disappear. But the progress of education tends inevitably to raise the standard of living, and by creating fresh needs supplies a powerful incentive to labor. And from the point of view of the white colonists there are other reasons of still greater weight for educating the natives. Nothing could be more unworthy, or in the long run more disastrous, than that the whites in South Africa should regard the natives as a mere "labor asset." If this view prevailed — and it is to be feared that it still has some advocates — it would inevitably result in the demoralization of the white communities. "We have to bear in mind," writes Sir Marshall Clarke, "that where two races on different planes of civilization come into such close contact as do the whites and blacks in South Africa, they act and react on each other, and where the higher race neglects its duty to the lower it will itself suffer." Neglect of this duty has many serious consequences, but perhaps none more disastrous than its effect on the white children. . . . As Mr. Barnett justly says, "The mental and moral development of the white children is inextricably involved in that of the black." (*The South African Natives*, pages 186 ff.)

A superior race that does not seek to share its superiority with an inferior will inevitably be dragged down to share the lower race's inferiority.

4. A more radical error is the idea of the fixedness of race character, of the fiat of unalterable race status. (Townsend's *Asia and Europe* sets forth this view persuasively.) On the other hand, the truth is that there is no static, inherent, abiding status of race superiority or inferiority. No race is assured of continued ascendancy. . . . This truth of race growth and change is indeed a warning to all race vanity and privilege, but it is also the hope of all races, superior or inferior. None of them is doomed to a fixed status. . . .

5. It is an error also to identify races and civilizations and to condemn as inferior the peoples of inferior or backward culture. In the first place, our Western civilization is itself none too superior. To the extent that it embodies the truth which God has written upon nature and conforms to the mind of Christ it is true civiliza-

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tion. But in neither of these respects has it advanced far enough, and it is seamed with evils which are now so patent to the world that in condemning them there is danger that we may lose the essential values to which they are clinging. In the second place, so far as it is good it is not ours. It is or is meant to be all men's universal possession. . . .

6. We err also in our sweeping race judgments when we fasten all individuals of a race within a racial inheritance as though the generalized character which we give to the race holds each member of the race in its determinism. Thank God, it does nothing of the kind. Men of the so-called inferior races, not in exceptional cases but by the thousand, can be cited who transcend in character, culture, power, influence, usefulness, and humanity members of the so-called superior races. Furthermore, as Professor H. A. Miller says: "Instead of drawing a line between races, psychological comparison demonstrates by the overlapping, similarity instead of difference. Divergences between the extremes of 'superior' and 'inferior' groups are almost exactly equal. It is manifestly absurd for the great mass of a race whom the lists classify as being of 'C' grade, to claim, because there are one or two per cent more of the 'A' grade in this race, that therefore these 'C's' have a God-given right to rule the other race which has also 'A's' and 'B's' in it." (*The World Tomorrow* (March, 1922), page 68.)

QUESTIONS

1. Compare the foreign-born and the native-born elements of our population as to age. What conclusions can we draw from this?
2. Do the evidences of outward Americanization cited by Steiner indicate an inward Americanization?
3. What is Americanization?
4. Outline the goal of Americanization work as given by Albert E. Jenks.
5. Show instances where the immigrant has not been treated justly by our officials.
6. Enumerate and explain the many sources of our race prejudice.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

THE LABOR-CAPITAL STRUGGLE

134. THE CAUSES OF INDUSTRIAL UNREST ¹

It needs no argument to show that there is unrest in industry. There is evidence of it in any newspaper you may happen to pick up. Stray snatches of conversation borne to the ears in hotel lobbies and in public conveyances bear witness to its importance. In the quarter century 1881-1906 there were 36,757 ² strikes and lockouts in the United States, an average of 1470 a year. In the two years 1917 and 1918 the number of strikes was 7572, and in the period 1916 to 1921, inclusive, there were 20,062 strikes, an average of 3343 strikes each year.³

Another evidence of unrest lies in the shifting from job to job that has come to be characteristic of modern industry. Labor turnover is the term used to describe this movement. It is measured by the ratio existing between men hired in a year and jobs available. . . .

Unrest has its origin in all sorts of factors and conditions, near and remote. . . . Among these are the following:

1. *The Work Period.* Protest is made against a working day that is considered unduly long. . . .

2. *Inadequacy and Uncertainty of Income.* To a peculiar degree the wage earner is a victim of economic insecurity, and the labor struggle is to a very large extent a groping about for certainty of income. Of all strikes and lockouts occurring in the period 1881-1906, 52 per cent involved demands for higher wages or protests against reduction. . . .

3. *Industrial Hazards.* Anything that makes it impossible to work, whether inability to find a job or inability to perform labor on account of accident, illness, or old age, adds tremendously to the wage earners' economic problem. . . .

¹ From John A. Fitch, *The Causes of Industrial Unrest*, pages 4-8. Harper & Brothers, New York; 1924. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

² Twenty-first Annual Report, United States Commissioner of Labor.

³ *Monthly Labor Review*, May, 1922; page 181.

4. *Struggle and Repression.* The unrest developed by these economic handicaps leads naturally to struggle. This struggle represents a conflict in objectives. The wage earners, instead of finding an easy road to the goal of their desires, find themselves opposed, thwarted, repressed. . . .

5. *Attitude of the Government.* Another factor tending further to develop unrest and class consciousness is the fact that in their struggle for economic advance the workers feel that they cannot count on the assistance of any outside agency. Engaged in a movement which the workers believe to be in line with the higher purposes of society as a whole — that is, the progressive advancement in well-being and ideals of a large proportion of the race — they often find organized society — the state — indifferent or hostile. Legislation for their protection is meager; the legal status of their organizations is uncertain; the courts frequently interfere to hamper and restrict. . . .

It was pointed out above that in the last few years there have been in the United States an average of nine to ten strikes a day, and that a majority have been fought, directly or indirectly, over wages. This is impressive, but at the same time there has been another demonstration less spectacular in form, but possibly of greater real significance. A student of employment relations has recently estimated that in normal times 2 per cent of the working force of any factory is unnecessarily absent every day.¹ Indifference when at work is a marked characteristic of wage earners everywhere. Individual soldiering and concerted restriction of output are widespread.

Labor turnover is a phenomenon the importance of which has been recognized only within the last few years. With the keeping of employment records we are now beginning to recognize its significance. Magnus W. Alexander, one of the first to make an intelligent study of turnover records, reported that 42,500 men were hired in 1913 by a group of factories in order to keep up an average force of 40,600 workers. Boyd Fisher, then secretary of the Executives' Club of Detroit, found in 1915 in fifty-seven Detroit factories

¹ J D Hackett, "Absenteeism: A Quantitative Study," in *Management Engineering*; February, 1922

an average turnover of 258 per cent. In 1918 Boris Emmet made a study of twenty-two factories for the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. Their turnover records were as follows: Four ranged from 50 per cent to 100 per cent; three from 100 per cent to 150 per cent; two from 150 per cent to 200 per cent; five from 200 per cent to 250 per cent; three from 250 per cent to 300 per cent; five from 300 per cent to 400 per cent.¹ . . .

These figures indicate clearly enough that for some reason factory work is not sufficiently attractive to command the loyalty and devotion of those who are engaged in it. . . .

135. INSECURITY AS A CAUSE OF INDUSTRIAL UNREST²

Recent labor progress shows that labor unions seem resentful today, instead of constructive, because of the knowledge that they are in the hands of employers who at any time can throw them out of work. Recent labor progress shows that the average man on the street is groping in the dark for Socialism, Bolshevism, or some other "ism" because of the fear that, after he is past middle life, he will be thrown on the scrap heap. Recent labor progress suggests that the churches are today not taken more seriously because, owing to our present industrial system, money is put ahead of men and our cities are organized to make goods rather than protect souls.

The various radical movements of today are largely the natural result of this fear and discontent with present conditions. When you put the present industrial situation under a microscope or in a test tube and analyze it, you find this to be true: The real difficulty disturbing men and women today is the fact that most of them can be thrown out of a job at any time by some employer and that the great majority of them will be helplessly stranded when they reach the twilight of life. Twenty-five million wage earners in this country are today subject to discharge by a very small group of employers. Most of the unrest today is due to the fact that every employer can press a button at the side of his desk and discharge,

¹ *Monthly Labor Review*; October, 1918

² From Roger W. Babson, *Recent Labor Progress*, pages 170-172. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York; 1924. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

without notice, men who have been in the employ of the company ten or twenty years. These men do not worry about unemployment when they are young, but when they pass middle age it is a very serious matter getting a job elsewhere. The radicals of today are not among the younger, but among the middle-aged and older men. Furthermore, they are justified in being fearful of what may happen to them. I have yet to find an employer who, were he a wage earner, would not be as resentful and suspicious of the present industrial system as is the average wage earner today.

136. STEADYING THE JOB¹

When men and women have once been accepted as useful in the labor market, why are they not kept busy? This is a question that scores of employers as well as public men and students of social conditions have been asking themselves for a long time. Their attempts to answer the question have come to a point where, if they do not form a program, at least they form the planks of one. It is the employer who has touched the bottom of this problem. He has discovered two prime causes of unemployment, both of which lie reasonably within his control. The first of these is the floater. It has only been in recent years with the awakening that has come to industrial management that the extent of the floater in industry has been realized. Ten years ago, even if you asked the average intelligent employer if he was able to "hold labor," he would tell you, "Why, certainly we hold our people. There's Billy Jones; he was an errand boy for my father fifty years ago, and he's never worked anywhere else. There's Mary — she came in here thirty years ago when she was ten, and she's worked every year since. We wouldn't feel the factory was going if Mary wasn't here."

Tell him you are willing to wager from what you have observed that he hires at least eight hundred a year to keep up his force of one thousand people, and he will call you an uninformed mischief maker. Challenge him to examine his own employment records, and he will come back crestfallen and tell you he wouldn't have

¹ From Ida M. Tarbell, *New Ideals in Business*, pages 258-266. The Macmillan Company, New York; 1916. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

believed it. Persuade him to put an expert investigator on his own problem and he will be confronted with a state of affairs which will make him, if he is really intelligent, see ruin and disaster dancing like stars before his eyes.

A few years ago the Jeffrey Manufacturing Company of Columbus, Ohio, discovering that it was annually hiring more men than its average force numbered, set out to find if there were others in similar businesses having their experience. Forty letters were sent out. Twenty received answers; and these answers showed that these twenty firms, to keep up a force of 44,000 men, were actually hiring 69,000 a year.

Four years ago Henry Ford, then employing some 12,000 men, was told by an investigator whom he had set loose in his plant to find out what, if anything, was wrong, that he was hiring 60,000 a year. He did not believe it. His partners did not believe it. The general superintendent hotly denied it; but their own figures proved it beyond dispute.

Only a few months ago that conservative body, the National Association of Manufacturers, listened to a paper on floating labor, the result of unusually careful investigation. It showed that in a group of twelve factories perhaps slightly above the average in conditions, it had been necessary to hire 42,571 men to keep up a force which at the beginning of the period considered was 37,274 and which had increased by but 6697. That is, 6½ times as many men were hired as the increase demanded.

Of course, a need of more men is not the only legitimate reason for hiring. Groups of human beings are steadily worn down by natural causes as rocks are worn away by wind and weather. Death, long-continued illness, temperament, the ups and downs of business, cut into them. A constant repairing must go on. Twenty per cent is the degree of disintegration which experts estimate to be unavoidable under the best possible labor conditions. Yet in the cases above the losses were nearer 80 per cent.

It has not needed argument to convince intelligent employers of the waste in such labor turnovers as these. The money loss, that is easily calculable, is itself serious. Hiring a man and fitting him into a labor force is an expensive operation. It is not merely the money

that the operation of hiring and instructing costs. There is an increased wear and tear of tools and machines. There is a reduced output and there is spoiled work and materials. Those things vary, no doubt, in every trade and every factory. From thirty dollars to two hundred dollars is given by those who have tried to estimate the cost in their particular businesses.

But who shall say what the employer of shifting labor loses through lack of coöperation and that spirit which makes a factory a joy and a pride?

The employer loses, but the man loses more. Constant change makes "getting ahead" impossible. It cuts his yearly earnings so that he cannot keep his family. More families are broken up in our industrial centers through irregular work than from any other cause. Under the continual influence of change he loses his desire for a settled place, and he has less and less chance of keeping one because whatever skill he possesses at the start rapidly deteriorates. He loses and his trade loses. Moreover, the industrial world as a whole suffers, for this shifting of labor is a serious contributing cause to our chronic unemployed problem.

What is behind these shifting wandering labor forces? Can they be stabilized?

In the admirable bulletin on unemployment recently put out by the city of Philadelphia, there is a letter published from a textile worker who says that in his time (about twenty-five years, I judge) he has worked in forty different places. "I have never been discharged, always changing with a view to better conditions or because of slack business."

Here you have the essence of the problem extracted from the experience of a man who knew his trade and wanted work, but who had floating labor practically forced upon him. It is "conditions" and slack time which breed floaters. Open-minded, forward-looking employers who have tried seriously to build up stable labor have had amazing results by reforming their methods of hiring and handling men. For instance, W. A. Grieves of the Jeffrey Manufacturing Company, who conducted the investigation of floaters referred to above, has with his colleagues worked out a system of handling men which has reduced their labor turnover by about

60 per cent, an annual saving in the case of this particular shop of probably \$50,000. If the twenty firms which Mr. Grieves found hiring 69,000 men to keep an average of 44,000 had applied his methods, they would have hired only 27,600 and would have saved \$1,760,000. What the 41,400 hired and fired would have been saved no man can compute.

137. EXPERIMENTS IN JUSTICE¹

. . . These are sound reasons for restlessness in men and women. Remove them, and the men readily respond, whether they be laborers in the yards, clerks in the countingroom, or preachers in the pulpit.

Five years ago the Clothcraft Shop of Cleveland, already one of the best working places in the town, was hiring 1570 workers a year to keep up a force of 1060. Then its present manager, Richard Feiss, undertook to organize it on a scientific basis. The shops were made as bright and as comfortable as he knew how to make them; the tasks were taught the newcomers by instructors hired for that purpose, opportunities for earning more and for steady advancement offered, and everybody was shown how to take advantage of them; hours were shortened. Life in the factory was organized for health and happiness — with what result? More work is being done today by 20 per cent fewer people and the "labor turnover" has fallen 66½ per cent.

At the Ford Motor Works, in December, 1912, 3594 of the 5678 men hired turned out to be "floaters," — "five-day men," as those who come only to go are called. A month after the profit-sharing scheme was announced, the new practices in fitting men to their tasks installed, these floaters fell to 322!

There never was a more foundationless tradition than that working men and women do not respond to efforts to make the conditions under which they labor more wholesome, decent, and just. They respond as quickly as other groups of human beings.

The failure of business to recognize long terms of service suit-

¹ From Ida M. Tarbell, *New Ideals in Business*, pages 224-226. The Macmillan Company, New York; 1916. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

ably causes peculiar bitterness among working people, because the results are usually so tragic. Can there be an experience more calculated to make a young man of education and efficiency question the industrial organization of the country than, after giving his first fresh years of enthusiasm to an undertaking, to find himself summarily laid off, with no recognition of the extra service he knows he has been contributing to the business? Yet how much better he is off than the workingman suddenly dismissed, without even the word of explanation the former will have received.

And if this is hard for young men, how much worse is it for those of sixty and seventy. Rarely do I go into an industrial community that I do not meet old men who, after thirty or forty years of service, have been dropped — “Too old,” “Worn out,” “He has had good wages but saved nothing. His own fault.”

These are the explanations. They do not explain. They are no more adequate than to say of the man hopelessly crippled in a factory, “It was a bad accident, but we were not negligent.” The one man’s life has been wrought into the factory, as the other man’s limb has been sacrificed to it, and the factory has an obligation to each. It cannot use all that is profitable in a human being and then cast him adrift; part of the price it must pay is finding him a safe mooring.

138. THE SHARES OF LAW AND PUBLIC OPINION IN PROMOTING INDUSTRIAL JUSTICE¹

The definite contributions toward better industrial relationships that can be made by the public can come through two channels, legislation and public opinion. Through the legislature it is possible to establish a point below which there is to be no controversy between employer and employee. When the legislature passes an eight-hour law for women employees, it is making impossible any controversy as to whether hours should be nine or ten. When it passes a minimum-wage law, it establishes a point below which there is to be no struggle over wages. In the same way, by the passage

¹ From John A. Fitch, *The Causes of Industrial Unrest*, pages 416-418. Harper & Brothers, New York; 1924 Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

of laws providing for safety in factories, workmen's compensation, one day rest in seven, and so on, it is removing the subjects treated from the realm of controversy, at least up to the level established in the law.

Such intervention by the public appears to be desirable from every point of view. It outlaws the sweatshop and protects the wage earners against the meaner forms of exploitation. It protects the fair-minded employer from the competition of the conscienceless exploiter; and it promotes industrial peace because, although it does not eliminate controversy, it raises its level. It fixes a minimum base below which controversy is outlawed.

Through the agency of the legislature, also, the public may intervene directly in the industrial struggle. That is, it may establish bureaus of statistics to gather and publish information concerning wages, the cost of living, safety, health, and other matters that are or may become subjects of controversy. It may provide for investigation and publication of the causes of strikes, and for mediation between employer and employees engaged in a controversy. It may clear the ground for voluntary arbitration. . . .

More powerful than legislation, in the long run, is the force of public opinion. It may at any time be an uninformed and misled public opinion, but it will be powerful, nevertheless. This makes it of great importance that the public shall have access to the facts of industrial life. When it has an understanding knowledge, it will begin to develop an ability to discriminate between good and bad industrial relations. In an understanding atmosphere it will be impossible for anything not approved by the public conscience long to endure.

The most striking recent example of the force of public opinion is the decision of the steel industry to abolish the twelve-hour day. The steel strike of 1919 and the report of the Interchurch World Movement on that strike had served to focus attention on the twelve-hour day. Acting under the influence of that opinion, President Harding appealed to the steel men to abolish the practice. In May, 1923, they reported to the President that any change in hours would for various reasons be impracticable. Then followed a storm of protest and condemnation that was quite without

precedent. Religious bodies passed resolutions opposing the twelve-hour day; the papers and periodicals the country over condemned the action of the steel men; every one who could express himself seemed outraged at the report. This clamor kept up, moreover; as the weeks went by it showed no signs of dying down. Early in August, ten weeks after the decision not to make any change in working schedules, it was announced by the president of the American Iron and Steel Institute that the steel industry had decided to abandon the twelve-hour day.

139. LABOR IN DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY ¹

I propose to put before you in as concise a form as I can the changes which must be brought about in the present policies and procedures of the two parties to this strife before any just and durable peace settlement can be expected. Some of these changes have already been brought about in an experimental and scattered way. They greatly need to be universally adopted.

ON THE PART OF EMPLOYERS

1. Abandonment of every form of despotic or autocratic government in factories, mines, transportation services, and all other industries which deal with the necessities of modern life.

2. Universal adoption of coöperative management and discipline throughout the works or plant, the employer and the workman having equal representation in managing committees.

3. Adoption by all corporations, partnerships, and individual owners of every means of promoting the health and vigor of employees and their families, including the provision of free medical and nursing service, good housing, and all feasible protection against accident, sickness, alcoholism, and vice, not as a matter of charity but as a sound business method. Prolonged education for adults who are already earning their livelihood should be included among these means.

¹ From Charles W. Eliot, "Labor in Democratic Society," in *The Survey*, pages 73-74 (April 12, 1919). Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

4. Careful provision in all large services — so large as to preclude intimate relations between the employer and the employed — of the means of dealing promptly and justly with complaints of employees, whether individuals or groups. In complaint cases foremen may be witnesses, but never judges.

5. Universal use in large services of well-trained employment managers for dealing with the engagement, distribution, shifting, promotion, and dismissal of employees.

6. General adoption of a genuine partnership system between the capital and the labor engaged in any given works or plant, whereby the returns to capital and labor alike after the wages are paid shall vary with the profits of the establishment, the percentage of the profits going to pay roll being always much larger than that going to shareholders or owners and pay roll never to be called on to make good losses. As in ordinary partnerships, the annual or semi-annual accounts should be open to the inspection of all persons directly interested. As a means of securing to employees full knowledge of the partnership accounts, they should always be represented in the directorate.

7. Constant effort on the part of managers to diminish monotony and increase variety in the occupation, from day to day and year to year, of every intelligent and ambitious employee. There is no uniform mode of putting this policy into effect in all the various industries; but there are two methods of wide applicability. The first of these is the policy of shifting employees from one task to another in the long series of tasks involved in the production of the establishment; the second is the policy of offering instruction at cost out of hours to aspiring young employees. This policy requires on the part of those who apply it acquaintance with individuals, skill in selection, and persevering good will.

8. Universal acceptance of collective bargaining through elected representatives of each side.

ON THE PART OF EMPLOYEES

1. Abandonment of the doctrine of limited output; because this doctrine demoralizes every person who puts it into practice by never doing his best.

2. Abandonment of the idea that it is desirable for workers of any sort to work as few hours in a day as possible and without zeal or interest during those few.

3. Absolute rejection of the notion that leisure rather than steady work should be the main object of life. On this point three principles may be said to be established by the history of civilization itself: first, that a leisure class in any community is apt to become a useless or even dangerous class; second, that civilization advances among different races in proportion to the prevalence among the masses of the love of liberty under law, and of the habit of steady work as distinguished from the intermittent work of the hunter or the nomad; and third, that the higher or most satisfactory employments or occupations permit and encourage every man to work to the limit of his strength and health out of love for the work itself, or his own satisfaction in it. This is true of all the learned and scientific professions and of the higher walks of business and politics. In this respect the lower occupations need to be assimilated as much as possible to the higher.

4. The first question for any young man to ask when he is choosing an occupation is, what chance is there in the occupation contemplated for variety, interest, and instructiveness as life goes on — not in how few hours a week can he earn his livelihood in it. In other words, it is a great object in life to have an occupation which yields in itself continuous satisfaction and contentment, and at the same time is not subject to sudden interruption or ceasing at the will of other people. Of course the mental workers, whose success depends chiefly on their own capacity and industry, have great advantages in this respect over handworkers who tend machinery. On the other hand, they have but slight advantage over diligent workers in such occupations as farming, carpentry, blacksmithing, and printing, for example, in which there is large variety, and personal knowledge and skill count for much.

5. Abandonment of two conceptions which underlie the use of violence or force for winning the victory in contests between employers and employed. The first is the conception that capital is the natural enemy of labor, and the second, the conception that unorganized laborers are traitors to their class. These conceptions

belong to an industrial era which is really past. They are miserable survivals of much earlier times when hours of labor in factory industries and in farming were unwholesomely long, wages deplorably low, and the mass of the people had little control over legislation or the manners and customs of the ruling classes.

6. Abandonment of all violence toward property or persons in the prosecution of industrial disputes. It is a consideration strongly in favor of this abandonment that a strike covering the whole territory of the nation or a large part thereof has lately become possible, because of recent improvements in means of communication. Such a strike, or even the threat of it, is capable of inflicting much suffering on millions of noncombatants.

BY BOTH PARTIES TO THE INDUSTRIAL STRIFE

1. Willing adoption by both parties of the methods of conciliation, arbitration, and ultimate decision by a national government board as sufficient means of bringing about just and progressive settlements of all disputes between capital and labor. The war has demonstrated within the last two years the feasibility of adjusting disputes between employers and employed by these means. To be sure, it has been under abnormal conditions that these means have proved to be temporarily sufficient; so that the immediate problem before the country is how to demonstrate that these means are sufficient under normal conditions, and that they are the only ones which a free and law-abiding people should hereafter use.

2. Recognition by both parties that a new and formidable danger threatens civilization, and that all good citizens of the republic should unite to suppress anarchy and violent socialism and to secure to all sorts and conditions of men "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

3. General acceptance of the view that American liberties are to be preserved just as they have been won. They have been slowly achieved by generations of sturdy, hard-working people who valued personal independence, industry, thrift, truthfulness in thought and act, respect for law, family life, and home, and were always ready to fight in defense of these things.

4. Acceptance of the truth that the democracy which is to be made safe in the world does not mean equality of possessions or powers, or a dead level of homogeneous and monotonous society, but on the contrary the free cultivation of infinitely diversified human gifts and capacities, and liberty for each individual to do *his best* for the common good.

QUESTIONS

1. Give evidence of unrest in industry.
2. What are the causes of industrial unrest?
3. Give the fundamental reason for the wage earner being suspicious and resentful of the present industrial system.
4. Give two prime causes of unemployment.
5. Show that the employer and employee both suffer from labor turnover.
6. How can the job be stabilized?
7. How can the public contribute toward better industrial relations?
8. Enumerate and discuss the program for industrial peace as outlined by Charles W. Eliot.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

THE PLACE OF PARTY

140. WASHINGTON'S WARNING AGAINST PARTY SPIRIT ¹

Let me . . . warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the doors to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and the will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks

¹ From the *Farewell Address*.

upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true, and in governments of a monarchical cast patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose; and there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

141. THE RIFTS WITHIN THE PARTIES¹

. . . Since 1896, when Mr. Bryan became the chosen leader of the Democrats, and in 1901, when Mr. Roosevelt came into the presidency for the Republicans, the differences within each party on these larger powers for government have been more pronounced, a radical and a conservative wing appearing in each party. Conservative Democrats differ very little from conservative Republicans, and the radicals in both parties are very much alike. . . .

The *conservative* is one who is disposed to be satisfied with things as they are; who looks with indifference, if not with hostility, on proposed remedies and reforms; who tends to revere the past and look with suspicion and fear on all changes; whose chief concern in government is for order, safety, and stability. He may not oppose progress, but he would first make sure he is right; and he would seek approval in old and well-established methods and principles. . . .

The *radical*, on the other hand, is one who seeks changes and reforms. He wishes to go to the root of political evils. He believes that government is like an organic body, — it must grow and expand and adapt itself to new conditions of society; that it is subject to diseases which must be uprooted and cast out. He is optimistic

¹ From Woodburn and Moran, *The Citizen and the Republic*, pages 222-225 Longmans, Green & Co., New York; 1921 Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

and eager for new experiments and does not hold to institutions and laws merely because they are old. . . .

The *liberal* is the moderate radical who wishes to reform existing institutions, but not to upturn them; he wishes to go forward, but not too fast.

The policies that have been urged by the "Progressives" of all parties may be summed up as follows :

1. Equal industrial opportunities for all, and equal punishment for all illegal acts, whether committed by large corporations or by individuals. . . .

2. Government regulation of public-service corporations, especially the railways, which should be brought under more direct public control and be made to serve all equally. . . .

3. The development of waterways, to supplement and to help the railways, as avenues of transportation.

4. The promotion of agriculture by encouraging small holdings of land and giving titles to home seekers.

5. The conservation of public resources under national authority, — water power for irrigation, the forests, the mines, and ungranted homesteads for home seekers.

8. Direct control by the people in lawmaking and in the conduct of their political parties by means of the *initiative*, the *referendum*, and *direct party primaries*.

10. To these may be added the short ballot, preferential voting, and efforts for what has been called "social justice" — that is, that the richer and more powerful classes may not cheat the public or work injustice to the laboring masses. . . .

142. THE BOSS IN POLITICS¹

"The boss in politics," said Roosevelt, "is just like any other kind of boss." His business is to get the job done, and he adapts his means to that end. . . .

¹ From William Bennett Munro, *Personality in Politics*, pages 42-78. The Macmillan Company, New York; 1924. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

A boss becomes a boss by natural process of evolution. His throne does not descend to him by inheritance or divine right. He begins at the bottom and climbs. The climb is rather a scramble, a rough-and-tumble affray in which no quarter is asked or given. The embryo boss hops upon the first rung as a precinct worker. He begins by helping the precinct captain on election day. He is given a list of voters to bring out, and he brings them to the polls. The precinct captain then puts him down as a "go-getter," a fellow who can deliver, and hence worthy of encouragement. During the interval between elections he broadens his acquaintance, travels around with a group or "gang," eventually becomes its leader, and perhaps organizes a political club of his own. Presently he finds himself put in charge of the work of getting voters registered, or of directing the motor cars which scurry around for voters on election day. Here, again, he shows himself a man with a punch. Accordingly, when the ward boss needs a new precinct captain he is the one selected, and he now has a chance to show the stuff that is in him. At this stage, by the way, the oncomer usually connects with the city or county pay roll. The ward boss or leader gets him appointed as a deputy clerk of committees at City Hall, or a timekeeper in the park department, or a messenger in the county courthouse — anything that yields a salary without requiring any special competence or any consistent attention to duty. The job is intended to facilitate, not to interfere with, his political activities. . . . What manner of man is this uncrowned king of American municipal politics, as President Goodnow calls him, this monarch by whose cryptic orders the government of great communities is carried on? . . . It must be apparent, on brief reflection, that bosses and bossism could not thrive so continuously if there was no real reason for their existence. Institutions which serve no purpose disappear. There must be something in the environment of American politics which abets the existence of the boss or he would have long since gone the way of the dinosaur and the dodo. Bossism has been unhorsed at times, wounded, and left for dead; but in some form or other it has always become reincarnated. . . .

Bosses do not all look like pugilists, or dress like bootleggers; some of them, indeed, are as far from such types as it is possible to

be. There comes to my mind in this connection one of the most dapper little fellows I have ever met, the boss of a certain Eastern city, who would pass in any gathering for a bank clerk or a stock-broker. Suave in manner he is, and courteous to a fault, his clothes of the latest cut, his trousers creased, and his fingers newly manicured.

It is commonly supposed, moreover, that all bosses are semi-illiterate and that their affiliations are mainly with the people of the underworld. Not a few of them, on the contrary, are well-educated men, college graduates, with many close friends among brigadiers of business in their respective communities. Penrose of Philadelphia and Barnes of Albany both graduated from Harvard; the former became joint author of a scholarly treatise on the government of his own city. Ruef of San Francisco was a university graduate of honor rank; Ames of Minneapolis was a doctor of medicine. Among municipal bosses there is fully as large a percentage of well-educated men as one finds among the population at large. . . .

In one respect there is a reasonable approach to uniformity among bosses: they are all men of courage and persistence. . . . The boss must also have a natural bent for the game of politics; his relation to it must be like that of a small boy to a circus. . . . Much has been written about the various qualities which a boss must have, but apart from courage, persistence, and a "flair for politics" there is no one quality that all bosses possess. A study of their personalities and careers will show them as diverse in characteristics as it is possible for grown men to be. No three men were ever more unlike, in all that goes to make up human personality, than William M. Tweed, Richard Croker, and Charles F. Murphy. Yet all of them thrived in the same environment. Tweed was a good fellow by nature, with an attractive presence. . . . He was an easy boss but an unscrupulous one.

Croker, by way of contrast, was a pugilist by profession and looked the part. He came nearer the cartoonist's conception of a boss than any other political figure of his time. . . . He was talkative, often boastful, and fond of displaying his power in a garish way. His rulership of Tammany was that of an autocrat and his methods were

those of a rajah. He had no colleagues in the organization, only subordinates. He looked for results, not excuses. . . .

Charles F. Murphy, who succeeded Croker in 1902 and continued to be overlord of the Wigwam until 1924, differed in personality and methods from both his predecessors. He was always silhouetted as a cold, silent, shrewd, and calculating man, yet not wholly devoid of the human qualities. He possessed neither Tweed's exuberant joviality nor Croker's iron stolidity. Murphy applied to Tammany the rule of reason, a sway which was neither too lenient for good discipline nor too strict for its morale. His reign was long in the land. . . .

Finally, it is often said that all bosses are fighters. "It can be emphatically stated," says a recent writer, "that no boss ever really landed who would run away from a fight." This is by no means true. Bosses have often advanced themselves and strengthened their power by avoiding fights, nipping rebellions in the bud, compromising, and giving "recognition" to those who otherwise might make trouble. . . .

So what are the qualities that the successful boss must have? . . . A successful boss, like a successful entrepreneur in any other field, must adapt himself to his environment, must discover the best methods of getting the job done and then use those methods. Plunkitt of Tammany Hall put it all in a nutshell when he said that the boss "must study human nature and act accordin'." But this is only what the successful lawyer does, or the successful journalist, real estate agent, or traveling salesman. Even Barnum practiced what Plunkitt preached. . . .

Now what is the cure for bossism? It cannot be a simple one or we should have found it long ago. . . . Bossism does not thrive where government is simple and responsibility direct. It thrives best in a political jungle, and the boss will keep the jungle of city government uncleared as long as he can. It is not without significance that every attempt to simplify the complicated government of New York City during the past fifty years has been bitterly opposed by Tammany Hall. Three years ago the New York legislature passed an act providing for the appointment of a commission to revise and simplify the New York City charter. Every Tammany

member of the legislature was recorded in opposition to the act. The city-manager plan has encountered the opposition of bosses everywhere. . . .

The second source of the boss's power is the patronage, both public and private, which he is able to control. The spoils system first brought the boss into being, and it is the spoils system that has contributed more than anything else to keep him in power. Without spoils the morale of the machine cannot be kept from disintegrating. There are signs that the spoils are becoming scarcer. . . . If we could get rid of patronage in all its forms, we should soon see a high mortality rate among bosses. "You take my life," says Shylock, "when you do take the means whereby I live." . . . Democracy must have leaders. The problem is not to abolish bosses and bossism, but to replace them with leaders and leadership. . . . What is the difference between a leader and a boss? "The leader leads, and the boss drives," was Theodore Roosevelt's way of differentiating them. . . . The leader in politics occupies a position that is recognized by the rules and customs of the party organization, and sometimes by the laws of the land. He is chosen in a prescribed way and is vested with certain definite responsibilities. But the boss creates his own position; he alone determines its powers, its duties, and its obligations. Leaders are essential in a democracy and no scheme of popular government has ever managed to succeed without them. But bosses are not essential; on the contrary, it can be demonstrated from the political history of the United States that popular government has achieved its best results in those states and communities where bossism is virtually unknown.

143. THE SHORT BALLOT MOVEMENT AND SIMPLIFIED POLITICS¹

In foreign countries they talk about politics and politicians, but they do not mean what we mean. With us the world of politics is largely made up of an enormous mesh of mechanical detail in which the average citizen quite properly takes but little interest.

¹ From Richard S. Child, "The Short Ballot Movement and Simplified Politics," in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (March, 1916). Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

He attends to his own business and leaves politics to politicians. The politician is not necessarily an officeholder, and if he is, it is not this fact which makes him a politician. He may be an officeholder, either appointive or elective, and yet not be a politician at all in our unique American meaning of the word. By a politician we mean a man who makes a business of citizenship and the duties thereof. He knows that the name of the state treasurer is Peter Jones, that his term expires next January, that the election for his successor will be held in November, that the primaries come in September, that Peter Jones will not be allowed to have the office again but that it will probably be bestowed upon Peter Smith, who has been working hard for the party with this object in view and has won the favor of the politicians in the dominant party.

Of all this Mr. Average Citizen is entirely unaware. He does not even recall that the term of the state treasurer will expire, yet in due time when election day comes in November, Mr. Average Citizen will vote for Peter Smith because the magic word "Republican" stands opposite Mr. Smith's name on the ballot. Ask Mr. Average Citizen as he emerges from the polling booth whom he voted for for state treasurer and he will not have the slightest idea. . . . Mr. Average Citizen is not a politician. Why should he know anything about the state treasurer?

The problem of democratic government is how to make Mr. Average Citizen substantially as familiar with politics as Mr. Politician is. The old remedy is to say that "all good citizens should go into politics." Or "there should be a civic uprising of the people." Or, "it is Mr. Average Citizen's own fault for failing to take an interest"; but in spite of years of preaching, that remedy has never been adopted, except in occasional and temporary abnormal paroxysms of civic effort when some unusual scandal occurs.

The remedy offered by the short ballot advocates reverses the sequence. The short ballot demand is to make politics so simple that what the average citizen knows will be all there is to know, thus leaving nothing of importance to furnish an exclusive field for the activity of the politicians. Today politics is partly in the hands of the people and partly in the hands of the politicians.

Abolish the politicians' end of the game and you may get popular government in reality.

Take, for example, the state government of New York. The people elect and select a governor. They also elect, but do not select, a lieutenant governor, secretary of state, state treasurer, comptroller, attorney-general, and state engineer and surveyor in the state administration. When the party leaders pick out a candidate for governor, they anxiously consider the question, "How will so-and-so take with the people?" When they pick out a man for state treasurer, no question comes up. It is not necessary for a state treasurer to take with the people. If they should nominate an experienced banker for the post, the fact of his superior fitness would not make him liable to win, and it will pay them much better to nominate somebody who is officially connected with labor or the farmers or with some region of the state which is politically important. And the state treasurership becomes in reality an appointive office, appointed by one or the other of the groups of party leaders, who have no legal or official responsibility for the results. Consult the tabulated election returns and you will find that he was elected by almost exactly the same number of voters that elected the comptroller and the state engineer and surveyor and the other minor officers. Often the total variation between the foremost and the hindmost candidate on the tail of a given party's ticket is less than 2 per cent, demonstrating incontrovertibly that the voters did not pick and choose among the candidates for the minor offices, but blindly under the guidance of the magic word "Republican" or "Democratic." When the state treasurer is duly elected and goes into office, he does not issue his statement to the people thanking them for the responsibilities with which they have entrusted him. No paper in the state would print such a statement except as a curiosity. He does, however, manifest his gratitude in less public ways to the coterie of men who are really responsible for his being there; i.e., the party leaders and those other political friends whose persistent wirepulling and intriguing with the party leaders brought about his nomination. . . .

So long as a little office like the state treasurership continues to exist on an obscure elective basis, two things are bound to happen.

First, the state treasurer will be appointed by politicians. Second, politicians must continue to exist because there has got to be some one to appoint the state treasurer. Likewise, of course, with other minor officers in the state and city and county.

The short ballot remedy is to transfer the power to appoint the state treasurer from the politicians to the first citizen of the state — i.e., the governor.

Now it is quite possible that the governor would appoint the same man that the politicians did and for the same political reasons. Nevertheless, there is an essential gain. The fight against inefficiency will be transferred from a jungle to an open field. The elective treasurer must be in politics; the appointive treasurer only may be. The politicians would rather appoint the state treasurer direct amid the hurly-burly of a popular election than be obliged to importune the governor to appoint their man. For the governor may or may not be amenable to their reasoning. Quite possibly he had conferred a greater favor upon them by accepting their nomination for governor than they did upon him by offering it. He was elected, at any rate, largely because he found favor with the rank and file of the people. The politicians only helped, and their hold on him is correspondingly weaker. Add to this the unpleasant fact that a governor becomes a popular hero every time he hits a politician over the head.

The change to the appointive or short ballot system thus cannot be guaranteed to take the administration out of politics and out of the hands of the politicians, but it can and does make the continuation of politicians and of their style of politics conditional upon the friendliness of a public officer who must accept conspicuous responsibility for his attitude. We can beat the politicians on that battle ground.

Braddock's army was helpless against the Indians in the natural ambush of the forest glades. It defended itself easily when George Washington had led it out into the broad meadow lands.

144. THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT¹

We talk about the government of the constitution. We have spent many days in discussing the powers of this and that and the other office. What is the government of this state? What has it been during the forty years of my acquaintance with it? The government of the constitution? Oh, no; not half the time, or halfway. When I ask what do the people find wrong in our state government, my mind goes back to those periodic fits of public rage in which the people rouse up and tear down the political leader, first of one party and then of the other party. It goes on to the public feeling of resentment against the control of party organizations, of both parties and of all parties.

Now, I treat this subject in my own mind not as a personal question to any man. I am talking about the system. From the days of Fenton and Conkling and Arthur and Cornell and Platt, from the days of David B. Hill, down to the present time, the government of the state has presented two different lines of activity, one of the constitutional and statutory officers of the state, and the other of the party leaders — they call them party bosses. They call the system — I don't coin the phrase, I adopt it because it carries its own meaning — the system they call "invisible government." For I don't remember how many years, Mr. Conkling was the supreme ruler in this state; the governor did not count, the legislatures did not count; comptrollers and secretaries of state and what not did not count. It was what Mr. Conkling said, and in a great outburst of public rage he was pulled down.

Then Mr. Platt ruled the state; for nigh upon twenty years he ruled it. It was not the governor; it was not the legislature; it was not any elected officers; it was Mr. Platt. And the capitol was not here; it was at 49 Broadway; Mr. Platt and his lieutenants. It makes no difference what name you give, whether you call it Fenton or Conkling or Cornell or Arthur or Platt, or by the names of men now living. The ruler of the state during the greater part of

¹ Extracts from the address by Hon. Elihu Root in the New York Constitutional Convention, August 30, 1915, in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (March, 1916). Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

the forty years of my acquaintance with the state government has not been any man authorized by the constitution or by the law; and, sir, there is throughout the length and breadth of this state a deep and sullen and long-continued resentment at being governed thus by men not of the people's choosing. The party leader is elected by no one, accountable to no one, bound by no oath of office, removable by no one. . . .

How is it accomplished? How is it done? Mr. Chairman, it is done by the use of patronage. . . .

What does the boss have to do? He has to urge the appointment of a man whose appointment will consolidate his power and preserve the organization. The invisible government proceeds to build up and maintain its power by a reversal of the fundamental principle of good government, which is that men should be selected to perform the duties of the office, and to substitute the idea that men should be appointed to office for the preservation and enhancement of the power of the political leader. . . .

QUESTIONS

1. Criticize Washington's views in regard to political parties.
2. Who is a conservative? a radical? a liberal?
3. Enumerate the policies that have been urged by the "Progressives" of all parties.
4. Who is a political boss? How does he obtain his throne?
5. What are the qualities that the successful boss must have?
6. What is the cure for bossism?
7. How can the average citizen be made as familiar with politics as the politician?
8. What are the merits of the plan that has been advocated as a remedy for the evils of the long ballot?
9. What is the secret of the power of the invisible government?

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

PUBLIC OPINION

145. THE NATURE OF PUBLIC OPINION¹

In no country is public opinion so powerful as in the United States: in no country can it be so well studied. . . . The simplest form in which public opinion presents itself is when a sentiment spontaneously arises in the mind and flows from the lips of the average man upon his seeing or hearing something done or said. Homer presents this with his usual vivid directness in the line which frequently recurs in the *Iliad* when the effect produced by a speech or event is to be conveyed: "And thus any one was saying as he looked at his neighbor." This phrase describes what may be called the rudimentary stage of opinion. It is the prevalent impression of the moment. It is what any man (not every man) says; i.e., it is the natural and the general thought or wish which an occurrence evokes. But before opinion begins to tell upon the government it has to go through several other stages. . . . A business man reads in his newspaper at breakfast the events of the preceding day. . . . These statements arouse in his mind sentiments of approval or disapproval which may be strong or weak according to his previous predilection. . . . Next morning the leading party journals have articles still more definite and positive in approval or condemnation and in prediction of consequences to follow; and the opinion of the ordinary minds, which in most of such minds has been hitherto fluid and undetermined, has begun to crystallize into a solid mass. This is the second stage. Then debate and controversy begin. . . . This is the third stage. The fourth is reached when action becomes necessary. When a citizen has to give a vote, he votes as a member of a party; his party prepossessions and party allegiance lay hold on him, and generally stifle any individual doubts or repulsions he may feel.

. . . In examining the process by which opinion is formed, we

¹ From James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. II, pages 251-255, 267, 271-273. The Macmillan Company, New York; 1891. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

cannot fail to note how small a part of the view which the average man entertains when he goes to vote is really of his own making. His original impression was faint and perhaps shapeless: its present definiteness and strength are mainly due to what he has heard or read. He has been told what to think and why to think it. Arguments have been supplied to him from without, and controversy has imbedded them in his mind. Although he supposes his view to be his own, he holds it rather because his acquaintances, his newspapers, his party leaders all hold it. His acquaintances do the like. Each man believes and repeats certain phrases, because he thinks that everybody else on his own side believes them, and of what each believes only a small part is his own original impression, the far larger part being the result of the commingling and mutual action and reaction of the impressions of a multitude of individuals, in which the element of pure personal conviction, based on individual thinking, is but small.

Every one is of course predisposed to see things in some one particular light by his previous education, habits of mind, accepted dogmas, religious or social affinities, notions of his own personal interest. No event, no speech or article ever falls upon a perfectly virgin soil: the reader or listener is always more or less biased already. When some important event happens, which calls for the formation of a view, these preëxisting habits, dogmas, affinities, help to determine the impression which each man experiences, and so far are factors in the view he forms. But they operate chiefly in determining the first impression, and they operate over many minds at once. They do not produce variety and independence: they are soon overlaid by the influences which each man derives from his fellow, from his leaders, from the press. . . .

To the great mass of mankind in all places, public questions come in the third or fourth rank among the interests of life, and obtain less than a third or a fourth of the leisure available for thinking. It is therefore rather sentiment than thought that the mass can contribute, a sentiment grounded on a few broad considerations and simple trains of reasoning; and the soundness and elevation of their sentiment will have more to do with their taking their stand on the side of justice, honor, and peace than any reasoning they can apply

to the sifting of the multifarious facts thrown before them, and to the drawing of the legitimate inferences therefrom.

It may be suggested that this analysis, if true of the half-educated, is not true of the educated classes. . . . Ordinary education, even the sort of education which is represented by a university degree, does not fit a man to handle those questions, and it sometimes fills him with vain conceit of his own competence which closes his mind to argument and to the accumulated evidence of fact. Education ought, no doubt, to enlighten man; but the educated classes, generally speaking, are the property-holding classes, and the possession of property does more to make a man timid than education does to make him hopeful.

.

Towering over Presidents and State governors, over Congress and State legislatures, over conventions and the vast machinery of party, public opinion stands out, in the United States, as the great source of power, the master of servants who tremble before it. . . . Those who invented this machinery of checks and balances were anxious not so much to develop public opinion as to resist it and build up breakwaters against it. No men were less revolutionary in spirit than the founders of the American Constitution. They had made a revolution in the name of the Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights: they were penetrated by a sense of the dangers incident to democracy. As an able American writer says, "The prevalent conception of popular opinion was that it was aggressive, revolutionary, unreasoning, passionate, futile, and a breeder of mob violence." . . . Be it noted that the efforts made in 1787 to divide authority and, so to speak, force the current of the popular will into many small channels instead of permitting it to rush down one broad bed, have really tended to exalt public opinion above the regular legally appointed organs of government. Each of these organs is too small to form opinion, too narrow to express it, too weak to give effect to it. It grows up not in Congress, not in State legislatures, not in those great conventions which frame platforms and choose candidates, but at large among the people. It is expressed in voices everywhere. It rules as a pervading and impalpable power, like the ether which, as physicists say, passes through all things. It binds

all the parts of the complicated system together and gives them whatever unity of aim and action that they possess. . . .

In the United States public opinion is the opinion of the whole nation, with little distinction of social classes. The politicians, including the members of Congress and of State legislatures, are perhaps not (as Americans sometimes insinuate) below, yet certainly not above the average level of their constituents. They find no difficulty in keeping touch with outside opinion. Washington or Albany may corrupt them, but not in the way of modifying their political ideas. They do not aspire to the function of forming opinion. They are like the Eastern slave who says, "I hear and obey." Nor is there any one class or set of men or any one "social layer" which more than another originates ideas and builds up political doctrine for the mass. The opinion of the nation is the resultant of the views, not of a number of classes, but of a multitude of individuals, diverse, no doubt, from one another, but for the purposes of politics far less diverse than if they were members of groups defined by social rank or by property. . . . In America you cannot appeal from the classes to the masses. What the employer thinks the worker thinks. What the wholesale merchant feels, the retail storekeeper feels and the poorer customers feel. Divisions of opinion are vertical and not horizontal. Obviously this makes opinion more easily ascertained, while increasing its force as a governing power, and gives to the whole people — that is to say, all classes in the community — a clearer and stronger consciousness of being the rulers of their country, than European people have.

146. THE MIGHT OF PUBLIC OPINION¹

It is a subtle, powerful, and sometimes terrible force. Like the mountain stream which ripples softly in the sunlight, giving no sign of the foaming and destructive torrent into which a sudden cloudburst may transform it, so public opinion, patient and long-suffering, at times seeming even dead, is capable of being roused to fury and to resolute resistance by some flagrant abuse of power or by an un-

¹ From Nicholas Murray Butler, *True and False Democracy*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York; 1915. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

principled violation of accepted standards of action. Sir Robert Peel hardly measured its breadth and depth when with cynical insight he described public opinion as "that great compound of folly, weakness, prejudice, wrong feeling, obstinacy, and newspaper paragraphs."

Public opinion is not very old. It is the child of the art of printing, of modern education, of modern means of communication, of modern democracy. Printing and education made it possible. Steam and electricity have developed it enormously. Democracy has raised it to grow through exercise. As democratic tendencies and habits have spread, as the circle of human information and human interest has widened, as the means of communication between man and man and between man and the world about him have expanded and multiplied, the complexity of public opinion has greatly increased; and while the difficulty of arousing it has diminished, the difficulty of directing it has increased many fold.

147. CONDITIONS FAVORABLE TO THE SWAY OF PUBLIC OPINION¹

One essential condition, then, of public opinion is that the people should be homogeneous to such a point that the minority is willing to accept the decision of the majority on all questions that are normally expected to arise. It is, indeed, largely a perception of the need of homogeneity, as a basis for popular government and the public opinion on which it rests, that justifies democracies in resisting the influx in great numbers of a widely different race.

Quite apart from any effect on the standard of life of laboring men, Americans and Australians feel that Asiatics cannot be assimilated so as to form an integral and indistinguishable part of the population. Mr. Bryce tells us that the excellence of popular government consists, not in its wisdom, but in its strength; this strength depends, however, on the fact that the people are so homogeneous that public opinion touches them all.

Differences of race do not always prevent a people from being

¹ From A. Lawrence Lowell, *Public Opinion and Popular Government*, pages 28-40. Longmans, Green & Co., New York; 1921. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

politically homogeneous; a fact abundantly proved by the experience of Switzerland, where three races, professing two creeds, are carrying on a highly successful democracy in perfect harmony. Race is merely one of the many factors that tend to divide a people. The essential point is that all elements of the population should be capable of common aims and aspirations, should have a common stock of political traditions, should be open to a ready interchange of ideas, and should be free from inherited prejudices that prevent mutual understanding and sympathy. This is a matter which thoughtful Americans must ponder seriously. . . .

Another factor essential to the existence of a public ^{opinion} is the freedom of the minority to propagate their views by all fair and peaceable means. Without the right of persuasion the minority would not be satisfied that the policy of the government embodied the deliberate wishes of a majority, and therefore expressed a real public opinion to which they were bound to submit. In a modern popular government, where the whole people are never within reach of a man's voice, where the chief difficulty consists less in making them weigh argument than in making them listen to argument at all, the right of persuasion involves freedom of speech, of publication, and of organization. Hence we find these matters wholly free in countries that have enjoyed popular government for any considerable length of time. Within the limits of a possible public opinion — that is, within the sphere where it is conceivable that the majority might be convinced and the minority might willingly submit — democracy does not suppress utterances repugnant to it, although it often ignores them.

DIFFICULTY OF FORETELLING WHETHER A PUBLIC OPINION
WILL BE FORMED

While we may indicate the limits of a possible public opinion in general terms, it is not always self-evident whether or not the conditions obtain in a particular case. We have seen that the public can form an opinion when a question has been so much discussed that familiarity with it is widely diffused; and that this is more likely to be true of a general principle than of a concrete application involving complex facts. But the shrewdest prophet cannot always

foretell when the public will care enough about a subject to discuss it fully. Sometimes their interest is unexpectedly keen. This is often true of personal questions, for the mass of mankind has more sympathy with the fortunes of an individual than with the fate of a principle, and hence are often better qualified to select a man for office than to pass judgment on his measures. One thing is clear: public interest can rarely be stimulated artificially. No device except a popular assembly has ever been invented whereby the mass of the people can be made to expend considerable effort on mastering facts that do not touch their imagination or affect closely their daily lives. While, therefore, they may occasionally pay an unusual amount of attention to some particular matter, a political system wisely framed will refer to public opinion those questions alone on which such an opinion can reasonably be expected to exist.

The fact that on many of the questions arising in the administration of a modern state no true public opinion is possible does not mean that with such questions popular government has no concern, or that public opinion cannot control their determination. The presence of such matters involves no condemnation of democracy, but a consideration of its mode of operation. It demands a careful study of the subjects to which public opinion is directly applicable, and the regulation of others by one of the indirect popular methods to be described hereafter.

148. THE MANUFACTURE OF POPULAR CONSENT¹

1

Because of their transcendent practical importance, no successful leader has ever been too busy to cultivate the symbols which organize his following. What privileges do within the hierarchy, symbols do for the rank and file. They conserve unity. From the totem pole to the national flag, from the wooden idol to God the Invisible King, from the magic word to some diluted version of Adam Smith or Bentham, symbols have been cherished by leaders, many of whom were themselves unbelievers, because they were focal

¹ From Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion*, pages 234-249 Copyright, 1922, by Harcourt, Brace & Co., Inc., New York. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

points where differences merged. The detached observer may scorn the "star-spangled" ritual which hedges the symbol, perhaps as much as the king who told himself that Paris was worth a few masses. But the leader knows by experience that only when symbols have done their work is there a handle he can use to move a crowd. In the symbol, emotion is discharged at a common target and the idiosyncrasy of real ideas blotted out. . . . These great symbols possess by transference all the minute and detailed loyalties of an ancient and stereotyped society. They evoke the feeling that each individual has for the landscape, the furniture, the faces, the memories that are his first and, in a static society, his only reality. That core of images and devotions without which he is unthinkable to himself, is nationality. The great symbols take up these devotions, and can arouse them without calling forth the primitive images. The lesser symbols of public debate, the more casual chatter of politics, are always referred back to these proto-symbols, and if possible associated with them. The question of a proper fare on a municipal subway is symbolized as an issue between the People and the Interests, and then the People is inserted in the symbol American, so that finally, in the heat of a campaign, an eight-cent fare becomes un-American. The Revolutionary fathers died to prevent it. Lincoln suffered that it might not come to pass. Resistance to it was implied in the death of those who sleep in France.

Because of its power to siphon emotion out of distinct ideas, the symbol is both a mechanism of solidarity and a mechanism of exploitation. It enables people to work for a common end, but just because the few who are strategically placed must choose the concrete objectives, the symbol is also an instrument by which a few can fatten on many, deflect criticism, and seduce men into facing agony for objects they do not understand. . . .

Yet it is impossible to conclude that symbols are altogether instruments of the devil. In the realm of science and contemplation they are undoubtedly the tempter himself. But in the world of action they may be beneficent, and are sometimes a necessity. . . . When quick results are imperative, the manipulation of masses through symbols may be the only quick way of having a critical thing done. It is often more important to act than to understand.

It is sometimes true that the action would fail if every one understood it. There are many affairs which cannot wait for a referendum or endure publicity, and there are times, during war for example, when a nation, an army, and even its commanders must trust strategy to a very few minds; when two conflicting opinions, though one happens to be right, are more perilous than one opinion which is wrong. The wrong opinion may have bad results, but the two opinions may entail disaster by dissolving unity. . . . The symbol is the instrument by which in the short run the mass escapes from its own inertia, the inertia of indecision, or the inertia of headlong movement, and is rendered capable of being led along the zigzag of a complex situation.

2

But in the long run, the give and take increases between the leaders and the led. The word most often used to describe the state of mind in the rank and file about its leaders is "morale." That is said to be good when the individuals do the part allotted to them with all their energy; when each man's whole strength is evoked by the command from above. It follows that every leader must plan his policy with this in mind. He must consider his decision not only on the "merits," but also in its effect on any part of his following whose continued support he requires. If he is a general planning an attack, he knows that his organized military units will scatter into mobs if the percentage of casualties rises too high.

In the Great War previous calculations were upset to an extraordinary degree, for "out of every nine men who went to France five became casualties." The limit of endurance was far greater than any one had supposed. But there was a limit somewhere. And so, partly because of its effect on the enemy, but also in great measure because of its effect on the troops and their families, no command in this war dared to publish a candid statement of its losses. . . .

3

Leaders often pretend that they have merely uncovered a program which existed in the minds of their public. When they believe it, they are usually deceiving themselves. Programs do not invent

themselves synchronously in a multitude of minds. That is not because a multitude of minds is necessarily inferior to that of the leaders, but because thought is the function of an organism, and a mass is not an organism.

This fact is obscured because the mass is constantly exposed to suggestion. It reads, not the news, but the news with an aura of suggestion about it, indicating the line of action to be taken. It hears reports, not objective as the facts are, but already stereotyped to a certain pattern of behavior. Thus the ostensible leader often finds that the real leader is a powerful newspaper proprietor. . . . In the first phase, the leader vocalizes the prevalent opinion of the mass. He identifies himself with the familiar attitudes of his audience, sometimes by telling a good story, sometimes by brandishing his patriotism, often by pinching a grievance. Finding that he is trustworthy, the multitude milling hither and thither may turn in towards him. He will then be expected to set forth a plan of campaign. But he will not find that plan in the slogans which convey the feelings of the mass. It will not even always be indicated by them. Where the incidence of policy is remote, all that is essential is that the program shall be verbally and emotionally connected at the start with what has become vocal in the multitude. Trusted men in a familiar rôle subscribing to the accepted symbols can go a very long way on their own initiative without explaining the substance of their programs.

But wise leaders are not content to do that. Provided they think publicity will not strengthen opposition too much, and that debate will not delay action long, they seek a certain measure of consent. They take, if not the whole mass, then the subordinates of the hierarchy sufficiently into their confidence to prepare them for what might happen, and to make them feel that they have freely willed the result. But however sincere the leader may be, there is always, when the facts are very complicated, a certain amount of illusion in these consultations. For it is impossible that all the contingencies shall be as vivid to the whole public as they are to the more experienced and the more imaginative. A very large percentage are bound to agree without having taken the time, or without possessing the background, for appreciating the choices which

the leaders present to them. No one, however, can ask for more. And only theorists do. If we have had our day in court, if what we had to say was heard, and then if what is done comes out well, most of us do not stop to consider how our opinion affected the business in hand.

And, therefore, if the established powers are sensitive and well-informed, if they are visibly trying to meet popular feeling, and actually removing some of the causes of dissatisfaction, no matter how slowly they proceed, provided they are seen to be proceeding, they have little to fear. It takes stupendous and persistent blundering, plus almost infinite tactlessness, to start a revolution from below. . . .

The established leaders of any organization have great natural advantages. They are believed to have better sources of information. The books and papers are in their offices. They took part in the important conferences. They met the important people. They have responsibility. It is, therefore, easier for them to secure attention and to speak in a convincing tone. But also they have a very great deal of control over the access to the facts. Every official is in some degree a censor. And since no one can suppress information, either by concealing it or forgetting to mention it, without some notion of what he wishes the public to know, every leader is in some degree a propagandist. . . .

4

That the manufacture of consent is capable of great refinements no one, I think, denies. The process by which public opinion arises is certainly no less intricate than it has appeared in these pages, and the opportunities for manipulation open to any one who understands the process are plain enough.

The creation of consent is not a new art. It is a very old one, which was supposed to have died out with the appearance of democracy. But it has not died out. It has, in fact, improved enormously in technic, because it is now based on analysis rather than on rule of thumb. And so, as a result of psychological research, coupled with the modern means of communication, the practice of democracy has turned a corner. A revolution is taking

place, infinitely more significant than any shifting of economic power.

Within the life of the generation now in control of affairs, persuasion has become a self-conscious art and a regular organ of popular government. None of us begins to understand the consequences, but it is no daring prophecy to say that the knowledge of how to create consent will alter every political calculation and modify every political premise. Under the impact of propaganda, not necessarily in the sinister meaning of the word alone, the old constants of our thinking have become variables. It is no longer possible, for example, to believe in the original dogma of democracy, that the knowledge needed for the management of human affairs comes up spontaneously from the human heart. Where we act on that theory, we expose ourselves to self-deception and to forms of persuasion that we cannot verify. It has been demonstrated that we cannot rely upon intuition, conscience, or the accidents of casual opinion if we are to deal with the world beyond our reach.

149. THE IMPROVEMENT OF PUBLIC OPINION¹

If the general intelligence is low, Public Opinion will, of necessity, be wrong in its premises; and the type of political and social life which develops will then be undemocratic. It is, of course, possible for a community to maintain order on a low standard of social responsibility; but only that society will be progressive and self-controlled in which Public Opinion is permeated with social idealism. And notwithstanding that, in any community, Public Opinion may sometimes be created by a few of the more intelligent, the fact remains that unless the majority has sufficient intelligence to understand the ideas of the leaders and make them their own, society will be controlled, not by Public Opinion, but by the opinions of a dominant few. For it is only when the members are in intelligent and harmonious sympathy with one another that Public Opinion can receive full expression — a condition involving not only individual capacity, but the perfection of social machinery as well.

¹ From Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*, pages 393-397. The Macmillan Company, New York; 1923. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

As education grows more and more general, the critical faculty of individuals, becoming stimulated, gradually raises the governmental ideal. But the development is, indeed, gradual; for even when people have determined what is right, they sometimes find it very difficult so to perfect the machinery of legislation and justice as to carry out their ideals. As a matter of fact, there is nothing in human experience that requires more foresight, ability, and harmonious social action than does the creation of laws for the government of a free people. . . .

Thus the state that is to be perpetuated through self-government must see to it that its citizens are well educated. . . . Beginning in the grammar grades and continuing with increased force through the high school and the university, special training should be given in all the subjects that pertain to social order and social control. . . . Everything that leads to an acquaintance with the political and industrial history of the nation, with its social and economic conditions, with its forms of government, its constitutional and common law, and, indeed, with its social relations, should be taught in its public schools.

Yet while the educating process should begin with the children and continue with the youth of the country, the work is not finished with the training of these. And although discussion of public questions and some little dissemination of information is secured through the press and the platform, these agencies are really inadequate to meet the growing need. A realization of this inadequacy has recently led to the fruitful suggestion that the present public forum, furnished by newspapers, books, periodicals, public lectures, and addresses, be supplemented by neighborhood gatherings of adults in the community building, the schoolhouse, for the discussion of questions of common interest. The suggestion has received the hearty indorsement of men of every political party and such leading educational and social bodies as the National Education Association, the National Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Municipal League, the American Federation of Labor, the American Prison Congress, and three of the national political parties. And Wisconsin has already placed upon her statute books a law requiring that, upon the request of a certain number of citizens, the educa-

tional authorities shall open the doors of the schoolhouses for just such purposes.

In carrying out this project, there are, of course, such practical problems to be met as that of gaining a sufficient number of the people of a community to take an interest in the discussion of public questions and that of centering the responsibility for requisite leadership. But the suggestion is certainly most significant and most worthy of an honest endeavor to make the public school more effective in promoting the intelligence and social efficiency of that ninety-odd per cent of our people who never get beyond the grammar grades of our schools.

150. THE CONTROLLING POWER OF PUBLIC OPINION ¹

THE PUBLIC'S JOB

The present report shows without any question the controlling power of public opinion. We have had two decades of public education in what it means to the community that women should not work the long hours, and that they should be paid enough to live on in comfort. And even though the laws in New York State do not demand either a living wage or an 8-hour day, the public is beginning to insist that these things shall exist. There is an immense amount to do. Public opinion has got to be jacked along to other things than merely enough to live on and an 8-hour day. But it is quite obvious that it has already done a good deal. It is important, of course, for us not to forget that 50 per cent of the workers are getting less than what might be called a living wage even on the present schedules and not rest too securely on the fact that 50 per cent can live in comparative decency.

We are still very far behind some of our neighbors among the nations. In New Zealand the hours which women may work in factories are limited to 45 a week. In South Africa they are limited to 50 hours a week. Among the Latin-American republics, Ecuador, Peru, and Uruguay have legislation establishing an 8-hour day. In four of the fourteen provinces of the Argentine the hours of labor are

¹ From *The Survey*, page 342 (December 15, 1923). Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

limited to eight. Chile has introduced a bill for the 8-hour day and the 48-hour week. The Republic of Panama established the 8-hour day in 1914. The new federal constitution of Mexico confers on the constituent states the power to regulate labor matters provided they adhere to certain standards, two of which are the maximum working day of 8 hours and a weekly day of rest. Even in Europe, torn with the throes of reconstruction, the 48-hour week is provided for in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Norway, Spain, and Sweden, while Poland and Latvia have a 46-hour week, and in Italy, Portugal, Lithuania, and Jugo-Slavia the 48-hour week and the 8-hour day are imposed by law. But not only has the United States as a whole no federal limitation of the hours which women may work for wages, as so many of the other countries have, but even New York State with her 54-hour week would be hopelessly behind the procession if it were not for the force of public opinion, which is tending to bring it down to the level worked out in other countries.

QUESTIONS

1. What is public opinion?
2. How do most men come by many of their fundamental political beliefs?
3. Show how public opinion rules America.
4. What things make public opinion possible?
5. What, according to President Lowell, are the conditions necessary for a real public opinion?
6. Upon what do we base our opinions?
7. What is the relation of leadership to public opinion?
8. What is the relation between a diffusion of general intelligence and the full expression of public opinion?
9. How has public opinion helped industrial progress?

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

THE CITIZEN AS VOTER

151. HOW THE CITIZEN MAY LEGITIMATELY CAST MORE THAN ONE VOTE ¹

Probably the wisest group of men who have gathered in modern times met in the Constitutional Convention that drafted the Constitution of the United States. They knew their times. They knew the history of the era upon which their times were founded. They knew their country and its immediate possibilities. They understood their race and its aspirations. . . . The structure which they built was something more than a political structure. In it they planted the seeds of a just relation of men, in many other activities than those of politics. Clearly the authors of the American Constitution had in their hearts a deep desire for that give and take, that consideration, that mutual help, which must be the basis of any society that survives long in a world where the fittest is becoming, not the strongest, but the most intelligently kind. For want of a more definite term, let us call this yearning for justice in their new country and new world, a hunger for righteousness: a fair, neighborly association upon mutually profitable terms. The Constitution they made was for a great neighborhood. . . . Their public opinion moved in great masses of like-minded citizens. They lived alike, thought alike, hoped alike, for the same good things of life. The Constitution was predicated upon a strong presumption of common trust that comes out of common traditions and the hope for common destiny. The farmer of the Carolinas knew in a general way the farmer of New England. The manufacturer of Pennsylvania knew his competitor in New York. Differences in station were differences in degree and not in kind, here in this country in the days when the Fathers wrote the Constitution. Indeed, their chief contribution to the political thought of their time and to modern times was their stern insistence that the legalized caste

¹ From William Allen White, *Politics. The Citizen's Business*, pages 1-18. The Macmillan Company, New York; 1924. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

system should never intrude in America. The abolition of titles has kept a door of hope, an avenue of opportunity, open and free to all men according to their individual merits. . . . This clause which institutionalizes the phrase in the Declaration of Independence that all men are born free and equal, is the bulwark of our American civilization, its reason for being.

But this distinguished clause of our Constitution which guarantees every man his right to rise without let or hindrance from society, imposes the heaviest burden upon our citizens. By reason of their political heritage they have tremendous duties. They are stockholders, by this obligation of nobility, in the greatest corporation in the world. It was the presumption of the Fathers that a man could vote his stock at the ballot box. In the world of the 1790's here in the thirteen colonies, a man could vote his stock in the corporation, effectively and with a clear conscience. His federal vote required only a little more intelligence, if he cast it wisely, than his vote in the town meeting or upon county affairs. . . . Ours was a land of great talkers. Paid liars were rare. Propaganda had small place in the American cosmos in the early days of the Republic. The truth was not difficult to find. Moreover, the organization of our great federal corporation was simple, and the stockholder generally understood the working of his governmental machinery. His ballot was a powerful instrument in his hand. It meant something very real to him and to the life about him, giving him a sense of dignity and self-respect that made him in deed and in truth the nobleman who was endowed and set up in business by our Constitution.

The device of one man with one vote seems to have worked fairly well for a decade or so, and then some registering machinery was invented to give the man with his vote more power. Parties arose. Party organization gave the voter somewhat more intelligence in choosing his candidates, and party representatives working with other party representatives in the party caucus gave him more power in government than an unattached, unorganized representative would have, working alone, in any branch or department of government. This acceleration of power to the representative naturally gave more power to the voter at first. In the days of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe the voter had more power as a

Democrat or Republican than he had as an individual voter; chiefly through organization he came to know his candidates better, and his candidates represented him more directly.

Early in the last century factions within the party and organizations of men quite outside of parties for the purpose of propagating ideas which the party was not quite ready to accept grew up in the land. The most notable of these societies for the purpose of spreading political ideas in the first part of the last century was the Anti-Slavery Society. A man might be an American outside of the party and little good it did him to believe or disbelieve in slavery, so far as his vote was concerned. But inside of the Anti-Slavery Society he had another vote. Frequently he backed up that vote with a small subscription to the society. The Anti-Slavery Society furnished speakers, distributed tracts, and by its very organization produced propaganda for its creed. The man who subscribed to the Anti-Slavery Society had a power over politics which his neighbor did not have as a member of a party, and certainly vastly more power than had his neighbor who was not even a member of a party. . . .

This condition, by which a man had two votes in government, arose almost of necessity because of the growing population and the diversified interests of a young and expanding people. In the 1840's and 50's, population, common American interests, and direct communication — state with state, neighbor with neighbor — were not as simple as they were in the 1790's. Other minorities were organized inside of party and across party lines. The Loco-Focos, the Know-Nothings, the Free-Soilers, rose and waxed fast, and faded when their ends were accomplished or definitely denied to them. But in these groups the citizen acquired vastly more power than he did as a member of either of the major parties. . . .

The complexity of our government no longer makes its citizens powerless. But the Constitution has been supplanted, and we have two kinds of government — our political government, which is supposed to be in the hands of a majority of the people, and a group of organized minorities, sometimes working together, sometimes at each other's throats, making a vast, uncontrolled, but tremendously powerful invisible government — the government of the minorities.

It may help the reader to understand this new form of government which is replacing our constitutional form if we define rather accurately a few of the typical social and political units that make this invisible government. Today, at the close of the first quarter of our century, these forms fall broadly into four types. First, and most powerful, though not historically the earliest form, is what might be called the craft organization. The American Federation of Labor, the National Chamber of Commerce, or either of the three farm organizations — the Farm Bureau, the Farmers' Union, or the Grange — are typical of a score of craft organizations set up primarily to influence administrations and direct legislation. Virtually every craft and calling in the country maintains such an organization. . . .

The second type of organization which functions in our government crystallizes around an idea. A group of men and women in a given territory form an organization, we will say for the protection of child labor in the community. Similar groups are working in other communities. They unite in a state society for the protection of child labor. The next step to a national society is inevitable. Around this idea grows in the several states and in Washington an organization — a president, a secretary, a treasurer. . . . The advocates of child labor have a strong organization now. . . .

A third type of political organization develops when we add to the organization grouped about an idea the paid organizer — the salesman. It is odd that when the salesman enters into what might be called the biological structure of this kind of unit, he generally sells along with the idea a ritual, a grip and a password. . . . The Non-partisan League, which thrived a few years ago in the Northwest, furnishes an example of the kind of organization which depends largely upon the paid organizer.

A fourth type of organization which does business in our politics through national organization is that which affects private interests rather than public affairs. Indeed, the third type often affects private interests just when they clash with the public interest. For instance, beet sugar has its national organization, its chief counsel and lobbyists in Washington; also its legislative headquarters in various states. So has wool. So have steel and copper. So has

oil. So have the railway executives. So have all of those great business organizations which are commonly called "the interests," meaning of course the private interests of large corporations. But the interests are not so powerful as the crafts and the crusaders. . . .

The ruling classes are those who use their craft societies, medical associations, farm bureaus, labor unions, bankers' associations, women's leagues, and the like to influence government. Of course it takes time and intelligence, and a little money, but not much. For fifty dollars a year the average family ought to be able to buy half a dozen powerful votes in government, each vote ten times as powerful as the vote guaranteed by the Constitution. Father may pay his dues to the trade association, whether he be doctor, lawyer, merchant, chief, rich man, poor man, beggar, or tax dodger. Mother may join and support her national federation of clubs, or the League of Women Voters. The two may contribute to the Anti-Saloon League or to its militant opponent. They may keep up their church dues, and the power of the church is irresistible in American politics when it is manifest. Brother may join the Boy Scouts; sister, the Camp Fire Girls, the Y. W., or both; and if the baby feels his nose out of joint, he will find a League ready to right his wrongs. . . . Millions of dollars are spent every year keeping these organs of the invisible government going. Most of the millions is honestly spent, but some of it goes into waste or bribery, directly or indirectly. This potential waste and corruption, of course, angers honest citizens and gives many persons the cue to decry the whole business of the American super State. But the outcry against these necessary organs of public opinion is futile.

We could not go back to the Constitution if we desired to go. We must, if we would have a constitutional government, remake our Constitution to fit the times. Perhaps the one great need now is to legalize, control, and make more efficient and representative these loosely formed, irresponsible groups which do the citizen's public business for him. It is a national shame that in our state capitals and at Washington, the invisible government functions without legal restraint. Powerful men and women who have unlimited funds at their command, and vast social forces in leash, ready to attack Congress, are responsible virtually to no one. . . .

Why should they not be responsible to the constitutional authority of the land? Why should they not all be compelled to incorporate, to furnish complete statements of the sources of their receipts, and the manner of their expenditures, of their purposes and plans, of their membership and of their directing officers? Thus would the invisible government become visible.

152. THE NATURALIZED IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR LEADERS ¹

"Come over here quick, Luigi," writes an Italian to his friend in Palermo. "This is a wonderful country. You can do anything you want to, and, besides, they give you a vote you can get two dollars for!" This Italian was an ignorant man, but not necessarily a bad man. It would not be just to look upon the later naturalized citizens as caring less for the suffrage than the older immigrants. Some of them appreciate the ballot all the more from having been denied it in the old country. For the Declaration of Independence and the Fourth of July they show a naïve enthusiasm which we Americans felt a generation ago, before our muck had been raked. "The spirit of revolt against wrong," says a well-known worker among immigrants, "is stronger in the foreign-born than in the natives, because they come here expecting so much democracy, and they are shocked by the reality they find. It is they who insist upon the complete program of social justice." Granting all this, there is no denying, however, that many of the later immigrants have only a dim understanding of what the ballot means and how it may be used.

Thirty years ago we knew as little of the ways of the ward boss as we knew of the megatherium or the great auk. The sources of his power were as mysterious as were the sources of the Nile before Speke and Baker. Now, thanks to Miss Addams and other settlement workers who have studied him in action from close at hand, we have him on a film. The ward boss was the discoverer of the fact that the ordinary immigrant is a very poor, ignorant, and

¹ From Edward Alsworth Ross, *The Old World in the New*, pages 266-272. The Century Company, New York; 1914. Reprinted by special permission of the publishers.

helpless man, in the greatest need of assistance and protection. Nevertheless, this man has, or soon will have, one thing the politician greatly covets; namely, a vote. The petty politician soon learned that by befriending and aiding the foreigners at the right time, he could build up an "influence" which he might use or sell to his own enrichment. So the ward politicians became pioneers in social work. For the sake of controlling votes, they did many things that the social settlement does for nothing.

It is Alderman Tim who gets the Italian a permit for his pushcart or fruit stand, who finds him a city-hall job, or a place with a public-service corporation, who protects him if he violates law or ordinance in running his business, who goes his bail if he is arrested, and "fixes things" with the police judge or the state's attorney when he comes to trial. Even before Giuseppe is naturalized, it is Tim who remembers him at Christmas with a big turkey, pays his rent at a pinch, or wins his undying gratitude by saving his baby from a pauper burial or sending carriages and flowers to the funeral.

All this kindness and timely aid is prompted by selfish motives. Amply is Tim repaid by Giuseppe's vote on election day. But at first Giuseppe misses the secret of the politician's interest in him, and votes Tim-wise as one shows a favor to a friend. Little does he dream of the dollar-harvest from the public-service companies and the vice interests Tim reaps with the "power" he has built up out of the votes of the foreigners. If, however, Giuseppe starts to be independent in the election booth, he is startled by the Jekyll-Hyde transformation of his erstwhile friend and patron. He is menaced with loss of job, withdrawal of permit or license. Suddenly the current is turned on in the city ordinances affecting him, and he is horrified to find himself in a mysterious network of live wires. With the connivance of a corrupt police force, Tim can even ruin him on a trumped-up charge.

The law of Pennsylvania allows any voter who demands it to receive "assistance" in the marking of his ballot. So in Pittsburgh, Tim expects Giuseppe to demand "assistance" and to take Tim with him into the booth to mark his ballot for him. Sometimes the election judges let Tim thrust himself into the booth despite

the foreigner's protests, and watch how he marks his ballot. In one precinct 92 per cent of the voters received "assistance." Two Italians who refused it lost their jobs forthwith. The high-spirited North Italians resent such intrusion, and some of them threaten to cut to pieces the interloper. But always the system is too strong for them.

Thus the way of Tim is to allure or to intimidate, or even combine the two. The immigrant erecting a little store is visited by a building inspector and warned that his interior arrangements are all wrong. His friends urge the distracted man to "see Tim." He does so, and kind Tim "fixes it up," gaining thereby another loyal henchman. The victim never learns that the inspector was sent to teach him the need of a protector. So long as the immigrant is "right," he may put an encroaching bay window on his house or store, keep open his saloon after midnight, or pack into his lodging house more than the legal number of lodgers. Moved ostensibly by a deep concern for public health or safety or morals, the city council enacts a great variety of health, building, and trades ordinances, in order that Tim may have plenty of clubs to hold over the foreigner's head.

So between boss and immigrant grows up a relation like that between a feudal lord and his vassals. In return for the boss's help and protection, the immigrant gives regularly his vote. The small fry gets drinks or jobs, or help in time of trouble. The padrone, liquor dealer, or lodging-house keeper gets license or permit or immunity from prosecution, provided he "delivers" the votes of enough of his fellow countrymen. The ward boss realizes perfectly what his political power rests on, and is very conscientious in looking after his supporters. Of the Irish "gray wolves" in the Chicago council I was told, "Each of them is a natural ward leader, and will go through hell-fire for his people and they for him."

QUESTIONS

1. Explain the meaning of "The Constitution they made was for a great neighborhood."
2. Show that the device of one man with one vote (*a*) seemed to have worked well for a decade or so; (*b*) does not seem to work well today.
3. What is the "invisible government"?
4. Name the four types of organizations which make up the invisible government.
5. What should be done to make the invisible government become visible?
6. Why did the ward politicians become pioneers in social work?
7. Show that between boss and immigrant there grows up a relation like that between a feudal lord and his vassals.

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

DEMOCRACY

153. DEMOCRACY AND MAJORITY RULE¹

The normal life of mankind is found, when we get below the surface, to be in a sense democratic. That is to say, the life that men live together is a joint product to which the will, the passion, the intellect, the temperament of every one concerned makes its contribution. I take this to be true even in a slave system. The slave takes his tone from the master, but no less fatally though much less consciously the master is the convex of the slave's concave. The Assyrian conqueror on the bas-reliefs, as Herbert Spencer was fond of pointing out, is himself inevitably tied to the rope by which he leads his prisoners. Our destiny is not our own temperament alone but that of all with whom we are associated. Each personality by a law that no doctrine can escape makes its way, whether by leaping rocks and piercing barriers, or by percolating like a lost stream through the sand; and each channel that it makes goes to determine the line of least resistance for its next neighbor. Perhaps the ultimate root of democratic principle is the conscious recognition of this underlying fact, with the deduction that if any are to be truly and morally free, all must be free. At any rate, equal freedom in a common life is the simple meaning of democracy. . . . The sharing of government and responsibility alone inspires mutual confidence, hope and charity, the expansions of human nature as against its inhibitions.

The freedom of man in society, as we have seen, can never be absolute. It is always conditioned by the equal claims of others. It may be said to have two aspects. In the one, it is self-determination without mutual encroachment — a self-determination which holds not only for the individual, but for the class, the group, or generally any and every element of the community. In the other respect it is the positive contribution of the individual (and again

¹ From L. T. Hobhouse, *The Elements of Social Justice*, pages 217-226. Henry Holt & Co., New York; 1922. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers

of every element of society) to the common life. In the second sense the common life is free when and in so far as each element is called in for its contribution, and no decision is taken till it has made itself heard and felt. This cannot mean that every man is to have his own way. Unless by a miracle of preëstablished harmony, that would spell anarchy. It means that in some way each separate will is to be taken into account. How to secure this is the standing and unsolved problem of political democracy.

On paper the solution seems simple enough. Every one must have a voice and a vote. Before decisions are taken he is perfectly free to exert whatever influence he can. Once taken, the decision is binding and he must obey. Minorities must give way and accept the view of the majority as the law of the sovereign democracy.

When we come to realities, this solution proves very unsatisfactory. In the first place, it is not practically possible for every man to be consulted about everything. A handful of people acting together for a specific purpose, say the partners in a business, may so conduct their affairs; but the method is not applicable to large communities of high organization. Their government is a connected whole where one decision involves others in ways which even experts and those at the center of affairs may not foresee. Popular intervention is necessarily intermittent, occasional, and very imperfectly instructed. . . . The difficulty of democracy is not so much that on which its older opponents insisted, the difficulty of a bad will or a selfish will — the difficulty is to get any will at all; that is to say, any stable attitude of mind laying down coherent principles which might be safely left to the expert to apply. Instead of this, democracy is apt to bubble up into some emotional decision, and then relapse into a flat quiescence and leave everything to its rulers — until next time. . . .

Notwithstanding these difficulties, a majority decides and a majority must decide. . . . In a council of three, two must have their way against one, and the only alternatives are the *librum veto*, which is anarchy, or one-man rule, the advantages and disadvantages of which are a well-worn theme not to be further worn out here. Our object is to consider the bearing of majority rule upon the democratic principle. The first consideration is that it

gravely emphasizes the drawbacks already mentioned. When there is so much difficulty in clearing an issue and arriving at a decision, it follows that a good deal of accident may go to the constitution of a majority. That a certain course commends itself to fifty-one per cent of 'the population gives it very little real authority over the course proposed by the remaining forty-nine per cent. Democracy would, in fact, be impossible if bare majorities ordinarily exerted all the power which they enjoy on paper. So far as this country is concerned, we have not, in fact, been so troubled on this point as by the peculiarities of our electoral system which exaggerates the appearance of majorities.

. . . In a homogeneous population, the rule of the majority is tolerable, for the majority is not a fixed and definite entity. I am in the majority today on this question, and you are in the majority tomorrow on another question. It is turn and turn about, and every one must take the chances of the game. It is quite otherwise when a State is divided into two (or more) portions by race, religion, color, nationality, or whatever it may be. . . . In this case there may be a standing majority governing the community from its own point of view, and looked upon by the minority as an alien power.

. . . Democracy implies in addition to Liberty and Equality a third or synthetic principle which we may call Community, which is difficult to formulate in precise terms and probably impossible in any constitutional rule. A spirit rather than a formula, it means that all difficulties within the body which it animates are differences within and subordinate to a deeper and more comprehensive agreement, and that within this agreement no assignable section is left out. No body of opinion is ignored because it is "only" the opinion of colored people, or Germans, or Roman Catholics, or women, or casual laborers. More generally, though the desire of the majority is entitled to its due preference, there must be a sincere and constant effort to accommodate it to the desires of the minority. The aim is synthesis rather than victory.

A second conclusion is that democracy in the sense of full equality of suffrage is not a sufficient answer to the claims of nationality. By nationality is meant the sense of forming a distinct community.

154. THE NATURE OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY ¹

Few people take the trouble of trying to find out what democracy really is. Yet this would be a great help, for it is our lawless and uncertain thoughts, it is the indefiniteness of our impressions, that fill darkness, whether mental or physical, with specters and hobgoblins. Democracy is nothing more than an experiment in government, more likely to succeed in a new soil, but likely to be tried in all soils, which must stand or fall on its own merits as others have done before it. For there is no trick of perpetual motion in politics any more than in mechanics. President Lincoln defined democracy to be "the government of the people by the people for the people." This is a sufficiently compact statement of it as a political argument. Theodore Parker said that "Democracy meant not 'I'm as good as you are,' but 'You're as good as I am.'" And this is the ethical conception of it, necessary as a complement of the other; a conception which, could it be made actual and practical, would easily solve all the riddles that the old sphinx of political and social economy who sits by the roadside has been proposing to mankind from the beginning, and which mankind have shown such a singular talent for answering wrongly. In this sense Christ was the first true democrat that ever breathed, as the old dramatist Dekker said he was the first true gentleman. The characters may be easily doubled, so strong is the likeness between them. A beautiful and profound parable of the Persian poet Jellaladeen tells us that "One knocked at the Beloved's door, and a voice asked from within, 'Who is there?' and he said, 'It is thyself'; and the door was open to him." But that is idealism, you will say, and this is an only too practical world. I grant it; but I am not one of those who believe that the real will never find an irremovable basis till it rests on the ideal. It used to be thought that a democracy was possible only in a small territory, and this is doubtless true of a democracy strictly defined, for in such all the citizens decide directly upon every question of public concern in a general assembly. An example still survives in the tiny Swiss canton of Appenzell. But this immediate intervention of the

¹ From James Russell Lowell, *Democracy and Other Addresses*.

people in their own affairs is not of the essence of democracy; it is not necessary, nor in most cases practicable. Democracies to which Mr. Lincoln's definition would fairly enough apply have existed, and now exist, in which, though the supreme authority reside in the people, yet they can act only indirectly on the national policy. This generation has seen a democracy with an imperial figurehead, and in all that have ever existed the body politic has never embraced all the inhabitants included within its territory, the right to share in the direction of affairs has been confined to citizens, and citizenship has been further restricted by various limitations, sometimes of property, sometimes of nativity, and always of age and sex.

The framers of the American Constitution were far from wishing or intending to found a democracy in the strict sense of the word, though, as was inevitable, every expansion of the scheme of government they elaborated has been in a democratical direction. But this has been generally the slow result of growth and not the sudden innovation of theory; in fact, they had a profound disbelief in theory, and knew better than to commit the folly of breaking with the past. They were not seduced by the French fallacy that a new system of government could be ordered like a new suit of clothes. They would as soon have thought of ordering a new suit of flesh and skin. . . .

Has not the trial of democracy in America proved, on the whole, successful? If it had not, would the Old World be vexed with any fears of its proving contagious? This trial would have been less severe could it have been made with a people homogeneous in race, language, and tradition, whereas the United States have been called on to absorb and assimilate enormous masses of foreign population heterogeneous in all these respects, and drawn mainly from that class which might fairly say that the world was not their friend, nor the world's law. The previous condition too often justified the traditional Irishman, who, landing in New York and asked what his politics were, inquired if there was a government there, and on being told that there was, retorted, "Thin I'm agin it!" We have taken from Europe the poorest, the most ignorant, the most turbulent of her people, and have made them over into good citizens, who have added to our wealth, and who are ready to die in defense

of a country and of institutions which they know to be worth dying for. The exceptions have been (and they are lamentable exceptions) where these hordes of ignorance and poverty have coagulated in great cities. But the social system is yet to seek which has not had to look the same terrible wolf in the eyes. . . .

We are told that the inevitable result of democracy is to sap the foundations of personal independence, to weaken the principle of authority, to lessen the respect due to eminence, whether in station, virtue, or genius. If these things were so, society could not hold together. Perhaps the best forcing-house of robust individuality would be where public opinion is inclined to be most overbearing, as he must be of heroic temper who should walk along Piccadilly at the height of the season in a soft hat. As for authority, it is one of the symptoms of the time that the religious reverence for it is declining everywhere, but this is due partly to the fact that statecraft is no longer looked upon as a mystery, but as a business, and partly to the decay of superstition, by which I mean the habit of respecting what we are told to respect rather than what is respectable in itself. There is more rough and tumble in the American democracy than is altogether agreeable to people of sensitive nerves and refined habits, and the people take their political duties lightly and laughingly, as is, perhaps, neither unnatural nor unbecoming in a young giant. Democracies can no more jump away from their own shadows than the rest of us can.

155. THE GENESIS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY ¹

This, at least, is clear: American democracy is fundamentally the outcome of the experiences of the American people in dealing with the West. Western democracy through the whole of its earlier period tended to the production of a society of which the most distinctive fact was the freedom of the individual to rise under conditions of social mobility, and whose ambition was the liberty and well-being of the masses. This conception has vitalized all American democracy, and has brought it into sharp contrast with the

¹ From Frederick J. Turner, "Contributions of the West to American Democracy" Reprinted from *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 91, pages 94-96 (January, 1903), by special permission of the author and The Atlantic Monthly Company.

democracies of history, and with those modern efforts of Europe to create an artificial democratic order by legislation. The problem of the United States is not to create democracy, but to conserve democratic institutions and ideals. In the later period of its development, Western democracy has been gaining experience in the problem of social control. It has steadily enlarged the sphere of its action and the instruments for its perpetuation. By its system of public schools, from the grades to the graduate work of the great universities, the West has created a larger single body of intelligent plain people than can be found elsewhere in the world. Its educational forces are more democratic than those of the East, and counting the common schools and colleges together, the Middle West alone has twice as many students as New England and the Middle States combined. Its political tendencies, whether we consider Democracy, Populism, or Republicanism, are distinctly in the direction of greater social control and the conservation of the old democratic ideals. To these the West as a whole adheres with even a passionate determination. If, in working out its mastery of the resources of the interior, it has produced a type of industrial leader so powerful as to be the wonder of the world, nevertheless it is still to be determined whether these men constitute a menace to democratic institutions, or the most efficient factor for adjusting democratic control to the new conditions.

Whatever shall be the outcome of the rush of this huge industrial modern United States to its place among the nations of the earth, the formation of its Western democracy will always remain one of the wonderful chapters in the history of the human race. Into this vast shaggy continent of ours poured the first feeble tide of European settlement. European men, institutions, and ideas were lodged in the American wilderness, and this great American West took them to her bosom, taught them a new way of looking upon the destiny of the common man, trained them in adaptation to the conditions of the New World, to the creation of new institutions to meet new needs, and ever, as society on her eastern border grew to resemble the Old World in its social forms and its industry, ever, as it began to lose its faith in the ideals of democracy, she opened new provinces, and dowered new democracies in her most distant

domains with her material treasures and with the ennobling influence that the fierce love of freedom, the strength that came from hewing out a home, making a school and a church, and creating a higher future for his family, furnished to the pioneer. She gave to the world such types as the farmer Thomas Jefferson, with his Declaration of Independence, his statute for religious toleration, and his purchase of Louisiana. She gave us Andrew Jackson, that fierce Tennessee spirit who broke down the traditions of conservative rule, swept away the privacies and privileges of officialdom, and like a Gothic leader opened the temple of the nation to the populace. She gave us Abraham Lincoln, whose gaunt frontier form and gnarled, massive hand told of the conflict with the forest, whose grasp on the ax handle of the pioneer was no firmer than his grasp of the helm of the ship of state as it breasted the seas of civil war. She gave us the tragedy of the pioneer farmer as he marched daringly on to the conquest of the arid lands, and met his first defeat by forces too strong to be dealt with under the old conditions. She has furnished to this new democracy her stores of mineral wealth, that dwarf those of the Old World, and her provinces that in themselves are vaster and more productive than those of the nations of Europe. Out of her bounty has come a nation whose industrial competition alarms the Old World, and the masters of whose resources wield wealth and power vaster than the wealth and power of kings. Best of all, the West gave, not only to the Americans, but to the unhappy and oppressed of all lands, a vision of hope, an assurance that the world held a place where were to be found high faith in man and the will and power to furnish him the opportunity to grow to the full measure of his own capacity. Great and powerful as are the new sons of her loins, the Republic is greater than they. The paths of the pioneer have widened into broad highways. The forest clearing has expanded into affluent commonwealths. Let us see to it that the ideals of the pioneer in his log cabin shall enlarge into the spiritual life of a democracy where civic power shall dominate and utilize individual achievements for the common good.

156. THE STRENGTH OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY¹

1. The first is that of Stability. . . . The people are profoundly attached to the form which their national life has taken. The Federal Constitution is, to their eyes, an almost sacred thing, an Ark of the Covenant, whereon no man may lay rash hands. . . . In the United States the discussion of political problems busies itself with details, so far as the native Americans are concerned, and has assumed that the main lines must remain as they are forever. This conservative spirit, jealously watchful even in small matters, sometimes prevents reforms, but it assures to the people an easy mind, and a trust in their future which they feel to be not only a present satisfaction but a reservoir of strength. . . .

2. Feeling the law to be its own work, the people are disposed to obey the law. . . . It is the best result that can be ascribed to the direct participation of the people in their government that they have the love of the maker for his work, that every citizen looks upon a statute as a regulation made by himself for his own guidance no less than for that of others, every official as a person he has himself chosen, and whom it is therefore his interest, with no disparagement to his personal independence, to obey. . . .

3. There is a broad simplicity about the political ideas of the people, and a courageous consistency in carrying them out in practice. When they have accepted a principle, they do not shrink from applying it "right through," however disagreeable in particular cases some of the results may be. . . .

4. It is a great merit of American government that it relies very little on officials, and arms them with little power of arbitrary interference. . . .

5. There are no struggles between privileged and unprivileged orders, not even that perpetual strife of rich and poor which is the oldest disease of civilized states. One must not pronounce broadly that there are no classes, for in parts of the country social distinctions have begun to grow up. But for political purposes classes

¹ From James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol II, pages 474-486. The Macmillan Company, New York; 1891. Reprinted by special arrangement with the publishers.

scarcely exist. . . . The poor have already political power, equal civil rights, a career open to all citizens alike, not to speak of that gratuitous higher as well as elementary education which on their own economic principles the United States might have abstained from giving, but which political reasons have led them to provide with so unstinting a hand. Hence the poor have had nothing to fight for, no grounds for disliking the well-to-do, few complaints to make against them. The agitation of the last few years has been directed, not against the richer classes generally, but against incorporated companies and a few individual capitalists, who have not unfrequently abused the powers which the privilege of incorporation conferred upon them, or employed their wealth to procure legislation opposed to public interests. . . .

6. The government of the Republic, limited and languid in ordinary times, is capable of developing immense vigor. It can pull itself together at moments of danger, can put forth unexpected efforts, can venture on stretches of authority transcending not only ordinary practice but even ordinary law. This is the result of the unity of the nation. A divided people is a weak people, even if it obeys a monarch; a united people is doubly strong when it is democratic, for then the force of each individual will swells the collective force of the government, encourages it, relieves it from internal embarrassments. . . .

7. Democracy has not only taught the Americans how to use liberty without abusing it, and how to secure equality: it has also taught them fraternity. That word has gone out of fashion in the Old World, and no wonder, considering what was done in its name in 1793, considering also that it still figures in the program of assassins. Nevertheless, there is in the United States a sort of kindness, a sense of human fellowship, a recognition of the duty of mutual help, owed by man to man, stronger than anywhere in the Old World and certainly stronger than in the upper or middle classes of England, France, or Germany. The natural impulse of every citizen in America is to respect every other citizen, and to feel that citizenship constitutes a certain ground of respect.

QUESTIONS

1. Why is the normal life of mankind democratic?
2. Show the weak and the strong points of majority rule.
3. What three principles does democracy imply?
4. What is democracy?
5. Why is it said that Christ was the first true democrat?
6. Has the trial of democracy in America proved successful?
7. Show how the West has contributed to American democracy.
8. In what ways is the United States conserving democratic institutions and ideals?
9. Upon what seven things is the strength of American democracy based?

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